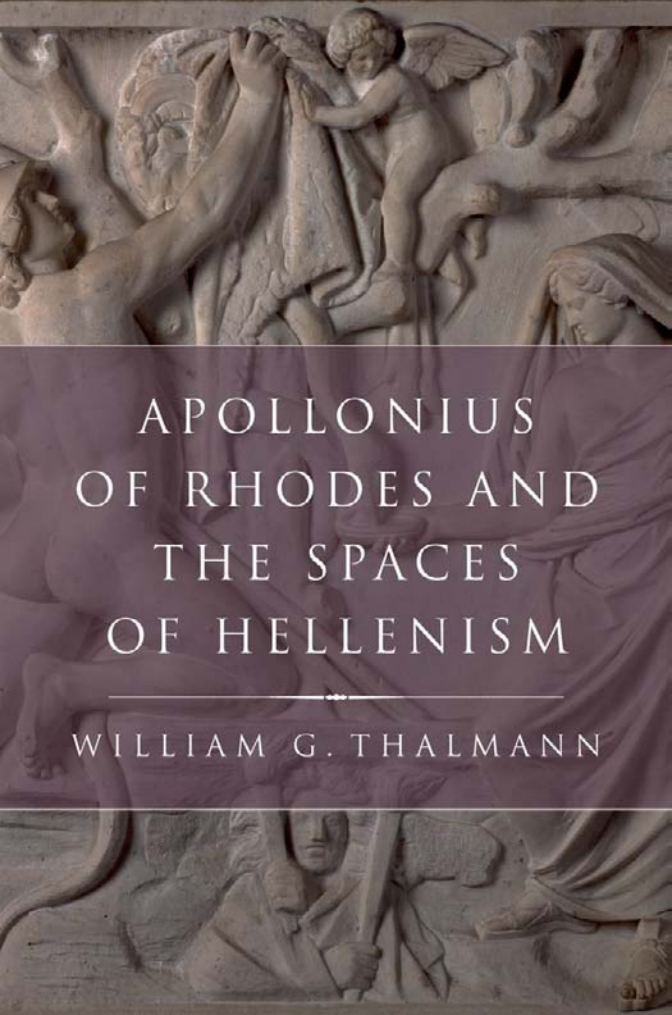

APOLLONIUS OF RHODES AND THE SPACES OF HELLENISM

WILLIAM G. THALMANN

Apollonius of Rhodes and the Spaces of Hellenism

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And all the names of the tribes, the nomads of faith who walked in the monotone of the desert and saw brightness and faith and colour. The way a stone or found metal box or bone can become loved and turn eternal in a prayer. Such glory of this country she enters now and becomes part of. We die containing a richness of lovers and tribes, tastes we have swallowed, bodies we have plunged into and swum up as if rivers of wisdom, characters we have climbed into as if trees, fears we have hidden in as if caves. I wish for all this to be marked on my body when I am dead. I believe in such cartography—to be marked by nature, not just to label ourselves on a map like the names of rich men and women on buildings. We are communal histories, communal books. We are not owned or monogamous in our taste or experience. All I desired was to walk upon such an earth that had no maps.

Michael Ondaatje
The English Patient

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Preface

Times of profound cultural and political change have often produced long, complex, and rich poems that use myth or other fictions to explore questions of contemporary urgency. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the *Aeneid*, the *Divine Comedy*, and *Paradise Lost* are obvious examples, but I believe that the *Argonautika* of Apollonius of Rhodes is also such a poem. Through the narrative of the Argonauts' voyage to win the Golden Fleece and bring it back to the Greek mainland, the *Argonautika* explores questions that were surely of concern to Greeks upon whom Alexander's conquests had thrust familiarity with other cultures. These questions were especially pertinent to those who found themselves living among people very different from themselves in places, such as Ptolemaic Alexandria, that were new to their Greek inhabitants. In such conditions, boundaries and definitions of many sorts that before had seemed established were put at risk. Questions arising from contact with other places and peoples—about what it meant to be Greek, about cultural difference and similarity, and about the relations between self and other—are put into action in Apollonius's narrative of the Argonauts' experiences.

The *Argonautika* brings together varying responses to these issues without attempting to achieve closure on them. These responses range from an assertion of the superiority of Hellenic culture—through colonialist discourse, for example—to a questioning of that affirmation, a recognition of much greater complexity that is reflected in the Argonauts' actions and in their experience of others as like themselves in some ways, and not just sharply different. The Greeks' old binary

division of the world into themselves and everyone else is inadequate to contain the complexity of this experience within the poem, as it was in the actual environment in which the *Argonautika* was written. With new understandings of the world, older paradigms that once seemed secure were opened to question. By means of a story set in remote times and places, the *Argonautika* offered its readers an opportunity to experience at a bit of a distance the anxieties provoked by the shedding of old paradigms and the excitement of new possibilities. What finally is at issue in these questions is the place of Greek culture in the world and an understanding of the world itself.

The Argonauts' voyage is the focus of the narrative, which begins with their gathering at Iolkos and their departure and ends with them stepping off the *Argo* back in Iolkos in the very last line of the poem. Space is therefore fundamental to the narrative, the medium through which it raises and probes those cultural questions. As the *Argo* journeys, its route defines a space that encompasses the south coast of the Black Sea and much of the Mediterranean, and the Argonauts' deeds define the various places at which they stop as constituent parts of that space. What emerges is a representation of space that is culturally and ideologically inflected and is not the verbal equivalent of a map as we usually conceive it. Its physical and conceptual center is mainland Greece; but at its edges and sometimes within it are spaces that resist incorporation into it. Hellenism is represented as central, but its limits are shown and its boundaries appear fluid.

Space is a complicated subject, although we tend to take it for granted. To examine space in the *Argonautika* in a way that would enable me to go beyond questions of geography, I have drawn on discussions that have been taking place in cultural geography and anthropology concerning the ways in which human cultures do not just use space but produce it and are shaped in turn by it. In the first chapter, I discuss the ideas that I have taken from writers in those disciplines because they are the basis for this entire book. I do so also in order to make those ideas accessible to readers who may not be familiar with them, although space is becoming more and more of interest to scholars in the humanities.

Mine is not the only possible approach to the *Argonautika*. The poem can be studied and enjoyed from a variety of perspectives, such as its language, its rich texture of allusions to earlier Greek literature, and its experiments with narrative technique. I hope that this book can supplement those more formal approaches. In saying this I am taking a position that will probably be controversial even today. I am not convinced by the notion of Apollonius isolated from society in the Library at Alexandria, writing only for a small elite audience. I view the poem as involved with its world, as all epic poetry is; and I invite the skeptical reader to consider this possibility and see where it can take us. I am also aware of the limits of my approach. Readers will not find much discussion of famous passages that have deservedly attracted scholarly interest, such as

the description of Jason's cloak, or of extensively debated issues such as the poem's representation of epic heroism. These things are surely significant, but it is not clear to me that much more can be done with them. I hope I can show how interesting are other, less noticed parts of this extraordinary poem.

I have had the good fortune to work on this book in the vibrant atmosphere of the classics department of the University of Southern California, and I thank my colleagues—faculty and graduate students—for exchanges of ideas and for their patience with my enthusiasm for Apollonius. I would also like to thank the graduate students in two seminars—one on the *Argonautika* at UCLA in the winter term of 2006, the other on Alexandrian poetry at USC in the spring semester of 2009—for lively discussions and perceptive questions. I only hope they took away from those courses some fraction of what I did. I have been equally fortunate to finish the book in the superb research environment of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, where I write these words. I thank the director, faculty, librarians, and staff of the Institute for all that they do to facilitate research and to put into practice all that is meant by the phrase "the life of the mind." I would like to express my gratitude to the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for funding that made it possible for me to spend such happy and productive months here. I also thank the provost of the University of Southern California and the deans of USC College for periods of leave at critical points, namely the beginning and end of my work on the book.

In between start and finish, a number of friends and colleagues have been helpful in various ways. Phillip Horky read the entire first draft of the book and made careful and suggestive comments that aided me greatly in rewriting. At a later stage, Alex Purves gave me equally timely help by reading and commenting on penultimate versions of what are now chapters 1, 2, and 8. I thank both for their generosity with their time and their wisdom. Anatole Mori kindly let me see the proofs of her important book on the politics of the *Argonautika* in advance of publication. I am also grateful to audiences at USC, Columbia University, Princeton University, and the University of Pennsylvania, where I gave oral versions of parts of this book, for their excellent questions, discussion, and suggestions. No less important to me have been the discussions, involving exchanges of ideas and, frequently, of bibliographies, that I have enjoyed with a number of friends, who helped me more than they perhaps realized. Thanks especially to Nancy Felson, Phillip Horky, Elena Isayev, Sandra Joshel, Nita Krevans, Damien Nelis, Alex Purves, Daniel Richter, and William Scott.

The helpfulness and professionalism of the staff of the New York office of Oxford University Press have made the process of publication a pleasure. I am grateful to Stefan Vranka for his interest in this book when it was at an early stage, his support of it, and his unfailingly wise advice. Warm thanks are also due to Deirdre Brady, Rick Stinson, and the copy editor, Mary Sutherland. Two anonymous referees for the press offered criticisms and suggestions on an early version of the manuscript that guided me as I rewrote, and one of them

commented on the final version as well. I only wish that I could name them in expressing my appreciation for their help.

No words can express what I owe to my wife, Susan. So I will say only that getting me badly needed books, although indispensable, was the least of what she has done for me.

Abbreviations

AB	Colin Austin and Guido Bastianini, eds. *Posidippi Pellaei Quae Supersunt Omnia*. Biblioteca Classica 3. Milan: LED 2002.
FrGH	Felix Jacoby, ed. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Leiden: E. J. Brill 1923–1958.
Kinkel	Gottfried Kinkel, ed. *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner 1877.
LSJ	Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press 1996.
M-W	Reinhold Merkelbach and M. L. West, eds. *Fragmenta Hesiodea*. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1967.
OCD[3]	Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 3rd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press 1996.
Pfeiffer	Rudolf Pfeiffer, ed. *Callimachus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1949–1953.
PMG	D. L. Page, ed. *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1962.
R-E	August Friedrich von Pauly. *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Rev. ed., Stuttgart: J. M. Metzler 1894–1963.
Roller	Duane W. Roller, *Eratosthenes'* Geography. Princeton: Princeton University Press 2010.

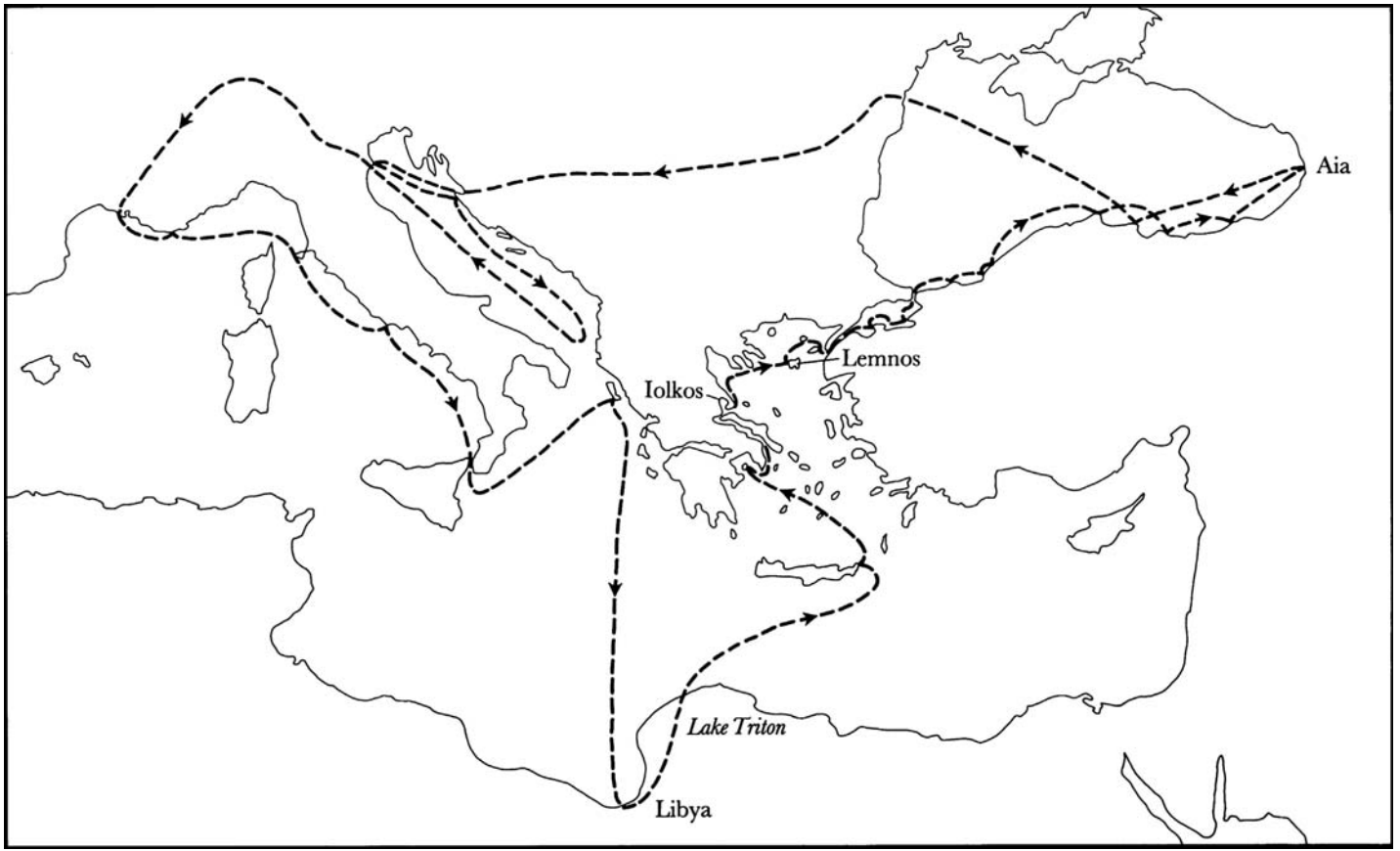
Rusten	Jeffrey S. Rusten, ed. *Dionysius Scytobrachion*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag 1982.
schol.	Scholia on Apollonius of Rhodes, in Carl Wendel, ed., *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera*. Berlin: Weidmann 1935.
W	M. L. West, ed. *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum Cantati*. 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press 1998.

Note on Text, Translations, and Transliteration

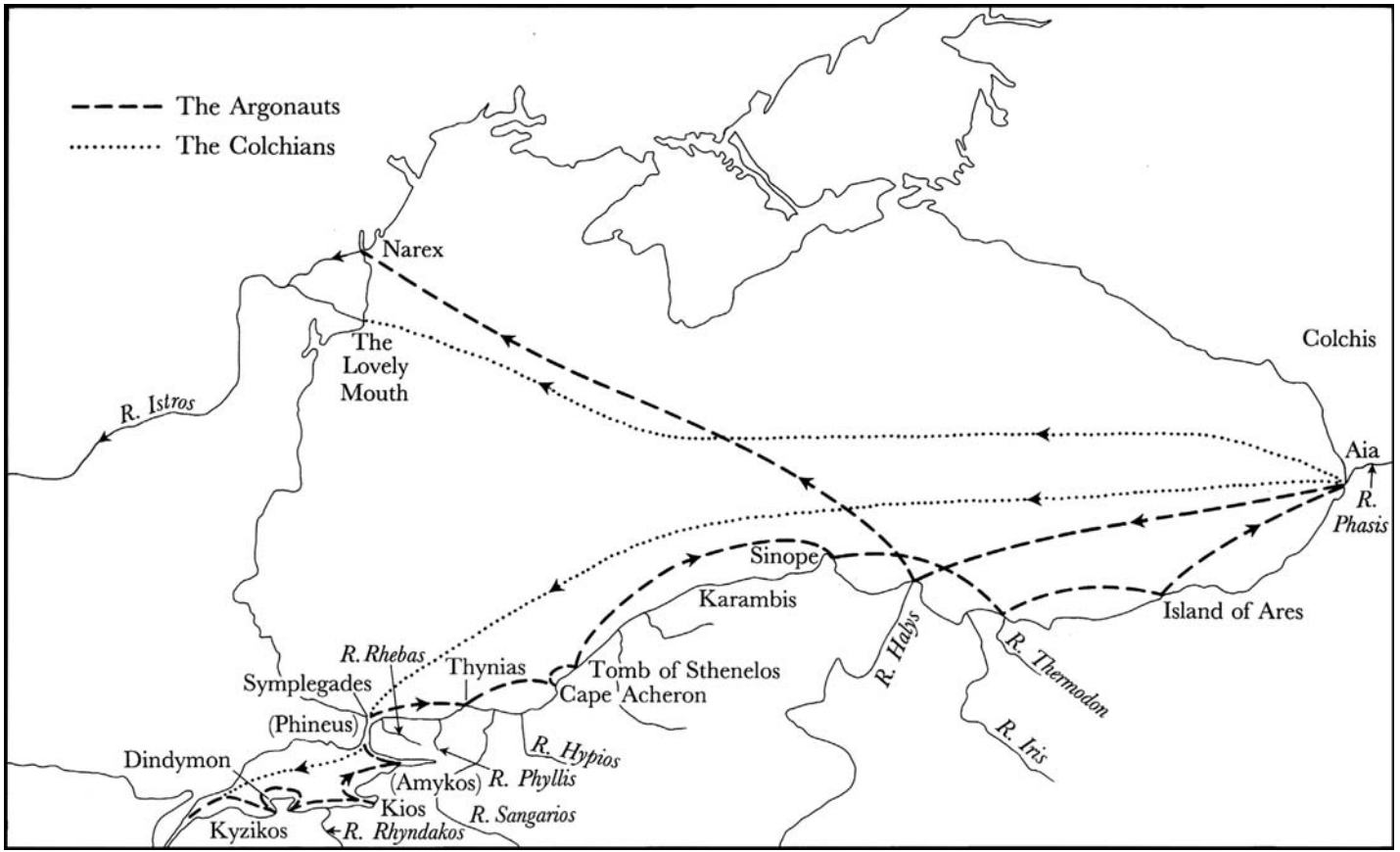
References to the *Argonautika* are by book and line number without the name of author or poem, except in rare cases where ambiguity would result. Thus 2.1163 indicates line 1163 of the second book of the *Argonautika*. For references to other ancient texts I have used standard abbreviations of the names of author and work. Except where I have indicated otherwise, quotations from the Greek text of the *Argonautika* are taken from the splendid Budé edition of Francis Vian, with French translation by Émile Delage.

Translations from Greek are my own. They make no claim to poetic merit but are meant as rough and ready aids to the reader. I have not hesitated, however, to sacrifice strict adherence to the literal meaning in order to avoid "translationese" or to bring out important nuances.

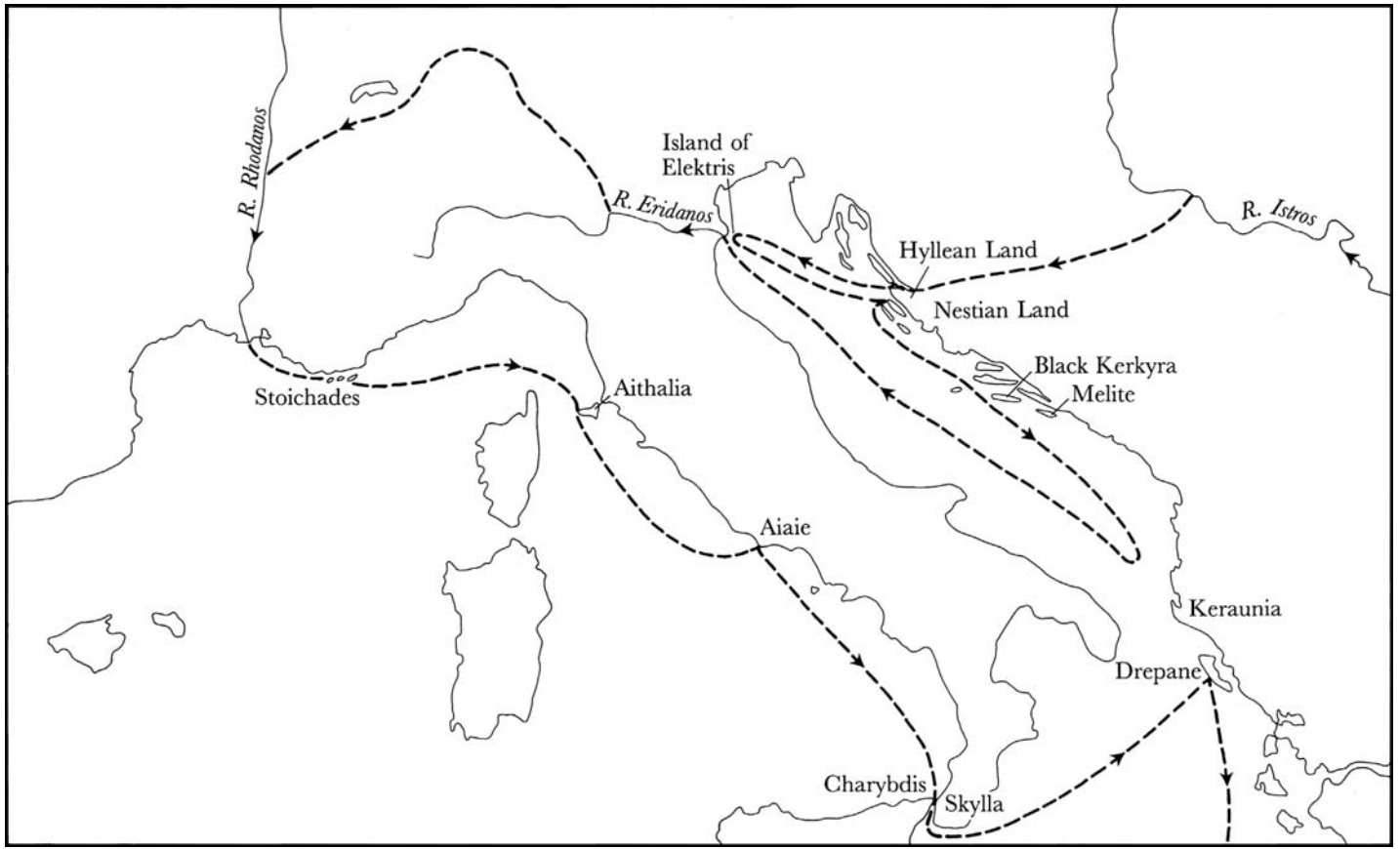
Transliterating Greek words and names is a difficult problem for anyone who is not willing to live with the illogical choice of Latinizing everything. Consistently accurate transliterations risk distracting or annoying readers, and compromises are inevitable. I have given Latinate versions of familiar names: Jason not Iêsôn, Medea not Mêdeia, Colchis not Kolkhis. I have transliterated less familiar names of people and places more strictly, and have done the same even with some familiar ones when I felt that doing so would not present an obstacle to the reader. Thus I use "k" for Greek kappa (Herakles), "kh" for chi (Kheiron), and the ending "-os" rather than Latin "-us" for names even of well-known landmarks (Bosporos, Olympos). On the other hand, I have tended to use "y" rather than "u" for upsilon. Not without misgivings, I have followed the common practice of using Latin forms for the names of Greek authors.



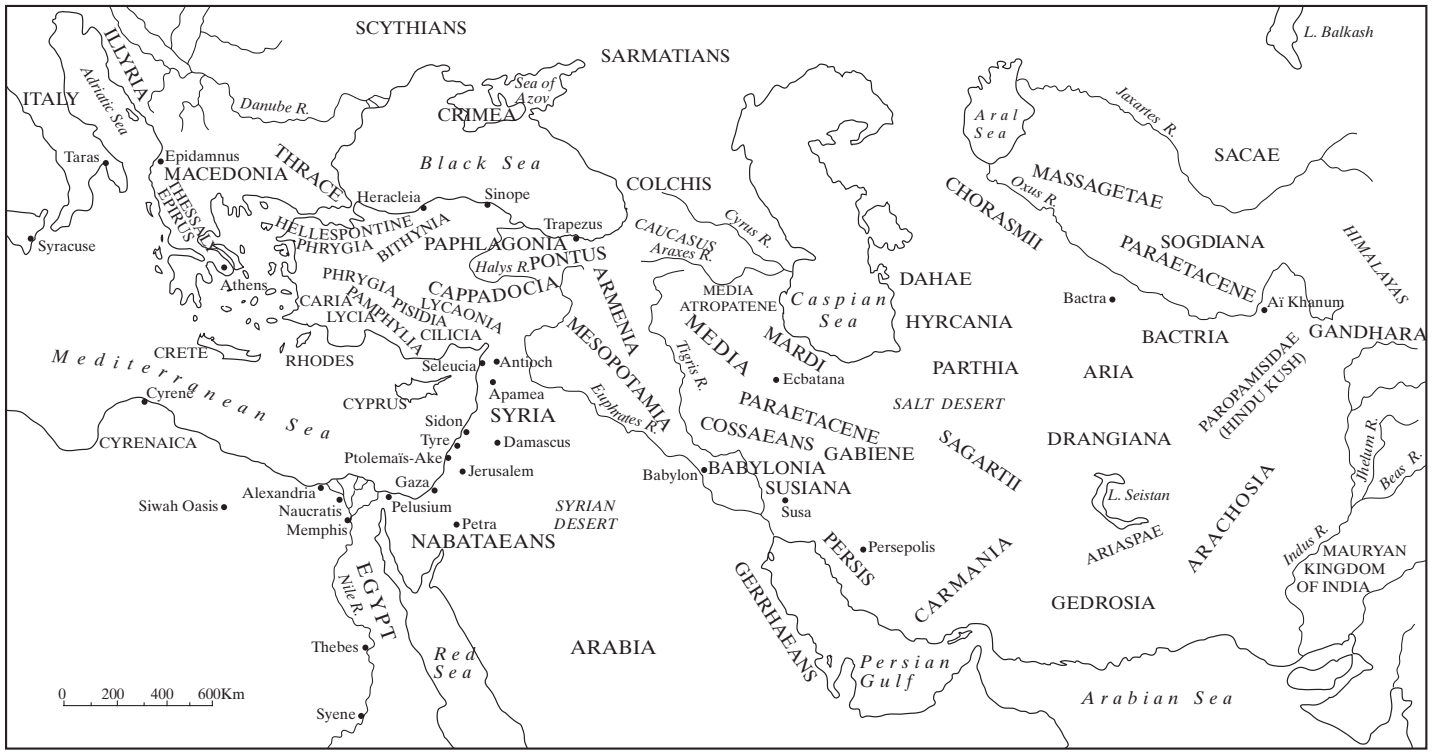
Map 1. The Voyage of the Argonauts. Courtesy of Richard Hunter and John Donaldson.



MAP 2. The Black Sea. Courtesy of Richard Hunter and John Donaldson.



MAP 3. The *Argo*'s route around Italy. Courtesy of Richard Hunter and John Donaldson.



MAP 4. Apollonius's world after Alexander's conquests.

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Apollonius of Rhodes and the Spaces of Hellenism

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I

Outline of an Approach

The View from Mount Dindymon

In the first book of the *Argonautika*, Jason and his men start to ascend Mount Dindymon in the territory of what will eventually be the Greek city of Kyzikos. Their purpose is to get their bearings for the next part of their voyage, or as Apollonius expresses it, "to see the pathways" of the Propontis (1.985–86). The earth-born giants' attack on their ships forces them to turn back before they reach the summit, but later, after the disastrous battle with their erstwhile hosts, they make the ascent, now in order to propitiate the Great Mother. From this vantage point they also get a panoramic view of virtually the whole Propontis (1.1112–16). In front of them they see the "Makrian peaks" and the whole of Thrace on the opposite shore, as though they could reach out and touch them (*ἐνὶ χερσὶν ἑαῖς*).[1] To the east appear "the mist-shrouded Bosporos and the Mysian heights," and to the west, on their left hand (*ἐκ δ' ἑτέρης*), the stream of the river Aisepos, the city of Adresteia, and the Nepeian plain in its territory.

The Kyzikos episode is complex, as we shall see in chapter 4, but these few lines show us several things about space generally and in the

1. Lines 1112–13 are difficult: see Vian's note in Vian and Delage 2002: I, 264. He favors the alternative interpretation: "the shore [of the Propontis] opposite Thrace" because *περαίη* without a substantive expressed is typical of prose but inconsistent with Apollonius's usage elsewhere, and because the Makrians mentioned in line 1024 seem to be located on the Asiatic shore. But there *κέλσαι* would suggest a sea-borne attack; "in their hands" (1113), though more accurate literally on Vian's interpretation (as he points out), would lose much of its expressive force; and a description of the view north as well as east and west would suggest a true panorama appropriate to the context. For these reasons, I follow the scholiast: *καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἐναντία χώρα τῆς Θρᾴκης*.

Argonautika.[2] The first is the elementary but important point that space is often experienced subjectively and in particular through the body and its orientation: back, forward; up, down; left, right.[3] The Argonauts' experience of the view is tactile as well as visual, and they understand direction according to the left and right hands. They know space by organizing it from the body outward.

In the second place, this panoptic view contrasts strongly with the limited perspective of the local inhabitants. The Argonauts first tried to climb Mount Dindymon because, when they asked their host Kyzikos about "the cities of neighboring people and the whole gulf of the wide Propontis," he was unable to tell them (1.982–84). This contrast tells us something essential about the voyage of the *Argo*. With their movement up the mountain here, but also with their journey that eventually covers much of the Mediterranean basin as well as the south coast of the Black Sea, the Argonauts overcome what Apollonius implies is the strictly bounded, isolated viewpoint of the peoples they encounter.

From Mount Dindymon, the Argonauts enjoy a privileged perspective on space, one that they will not experience again in the poem, and like the one that is usually reserved for the gods and a few chosen mortals. It partly resembles what Eros later sees when he travels from the peak of Mount Olympos to Aietes' house to make Medea fall in love with Jason (3.160–66). As he goes, he sees twin eastern peaks that hold up (or rise up to?)[4] the sky, the highest points on earth. "Below them there appeared to him as he went on his long way through the *aithêr* now the life-bearing earth and the cities of humans and the sacred river courses, and now, on the other hand, mountain-tops and the sea all around." Eros's view takes in more than the Argonauts can see. A mountain peak such as Dindymon's is the object of his sight, not the vantage point from which he looks. He sees undifferentiated human cities—human life whole and entire, with perhaps an echo of the third line of the *Odyssey*[5]—in the context of the earth's natural features and its relation to the sky. Like the ball described just before this point—Zeus's toy in infancy, now promised to Eros by Aphrodite (3.131–41)—the comprehensiveness of this panorama stresses Eros's power

2. On Mount Dindymon and geography, see Williams 1991: 86–92; Clare 2002: 66–71. The former focuses on the meanings to be inferred from the landscape, the latter on geographical precision. "Space" encompasses both landscape and geography, but will take us in a different direction.

3. See especially Tuan 1977: 34–50. Cf. Bourdieu 1977: 89–90 on the Kabyle distinction between "the sacred of the right hand" and "the sacred of the left hand," which organizes and is reflected in the layout of the house and larger-scale social spaces. The *habitus* that he describes as constructed through practice is essentially spatial and centered on the body. See his discussion of "the body as geometer" (1977: 114–24). Cf. Casey 1996: 17–19, 21–24, 34.

4. "Hold up" if, with Vian, we read Platt's *πόλον* for the manuscripts' *πόλοι*; "rise up to" with Fränkel's *πόλονδ'*. See Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: II, 116; Hunter 1989: 115–16.

5. But the adjective *πολλῶν* there makes a big difference. Odysseus "saw the cities of *many* men," but not the entire human world. Even the broadest mortal perspective falls short of divine vision, the allusion (if it is one) suggests. On the relation between the *Argonautika* passage and Homeric and other earlier poetry, see Lennox 1980: 65–66.

over all the world,[6] just as he is on his way to a specific point on earth: Colchis, and within it Aietes' house and the part of it where Jason is just about to set eyes on Medea for the first time. When he enters human space and time, he intervenes at a particular, critical moment and in a carefully defined, enclosed place that contrasts with the expanse of his initial panoptic view. That vista, we might infer, is the gods' normal spatial perspective. Only in brief encounters with mortals do they share the latter's experience of space, whereas mortals enjoy spatial panoramas approaching theirs only under rare, privileged conditions.[7]

The moment of Eros's panoramic gaze has been partially anticipated at another pause in the narrative before a divine intervention, this time in a remarkable simile (2.541–48):

> *ὡς δ' ὅτε τις πάτρηθεν ἀλώμενος—οἷά τε πολλὰ*
> *πλαζόμεθ' ἄνθρωποι τετληότες, οὐδέ τις αἶα*
> *τηλουρός, πᾶσαι δὲ κατόψιοί εἰσι κέλευθοι—*
> *σφωϊτέρους δ' ἐνόησε δόμους, ἄμυδις δὲ κέλευθος*
> *ὑγρή τε τραφερή τ' ἰνδάλλεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλῃ*
> *ὀξέα πορφύρων ἐπιμαίεται ὀφθαλμοῖσιν·*
> *ὣς ἄρα καρπαλίμως κούρη Διὸς ἀΐξασα*
> *θῆκεν ἐπ' Ἀξείνοιο πόδας Θυνηΐδος ἀκτῆς.*
>
> As when someone wandering far from his native land—just as we
> unhappy mortals often wander, and no land seems far away,
> but all roads are within sight—
> sees in his mind's eye his home, and every route
> and the wet and the dry [sea and land] appear to him all at once,
> and in his vivid imaginings
> he yearns now this way and now that with his eyes:
> darting so quickly Zeus's daughter
> set her feet on the Thyneïan shore of the Inhospitable Sea.

Here, although a comprehensive view of space is conjured up, it is used to describe Athena's almost instantaneous flight to the Bosporos to help the Argonauts through the Clashing Rocks with a strategically timed push. The traveler of the simile, instead of moving along the pathways on sea and land progressively over time, sees them all at once in prospect. Asynchronic view of space, we might say, is used to describe a radical compression of time in order

6. Hunter 1989: 116 (note on lines 164–66). On the significance of the ball, see his note on line 135 (p. 113). DeForest 1994: 143–44 suggestively, although perhaps anachronistically, connects the rings on the ball with circles of latitude and longitude on geographers' maps.

7. Cf. Purves 2010: 32–38. More generally, Purves shows how literary texts from Homer through Xenophon try to represent the world, and to offer themselves to listener or reader, in just this synoptic way, as a way of knowing and remembering. Her argument puts Apollonius in context. But as we shall see, he takes the opposite approach and privileges a more human experience of space as a way of knowing the world, one produced by moving through it.

to give an idea of divine "time-space." On the other hand, unlike the description of Eros's view, and unlike the Homeric model that is in the background here (*Il.* 15.80–83),[8] this simile emphasizes the travel routes by which mortals articulate space on the surface of the earth. The image is one of space as a totality, but not as entirely abstract; it contains many pathways, potential routes that the traveler can choose among. The wanderer enjoys a prospect that is something more than what most mortals normally see and less than Eros's comprehensive view of the earth; the difference is also perceptible in the dynamics of the simile, which uses the enlargement of a human's usual experience of space to describe in human terms the speed of a goddess's movement. That observer is in the position of the Argonauts atop Mount Dindymon. Like them, he has his enhanced vision just when he is about to follow a route through the space laid out before him—that is, he will have a particular experience of space. By the time the simile occurs, the Argonauts have done just that; they have found their way across the Propontis and are about to enter the Bosporos, where their world will shrink to shifting rocks and pounding waves.

Only one mortal in the poem experiences space as the gods do, and he is the son of Helios, the Sun. Aietes scolds his grandsons, who have been shipwrecked while attempting to sail from Colchis to Thessaly, for not heeding his warnings about the vast distance their journey involved—knowledge he gained, he says, when he accompanied his father in the latter's chariot to settle his sister Kirke on the west coast of Italy (3.307–13). The Argonauts have just sailed over part of the route that Aietes describes with the phrase "the boundless measures of the way" (*ἀπείρονα μέτρα κελεύθου*, 3.308), between Thessaly and Colchis, and in book 4 they too will journey from Colchis to the Tyrrhenian sea and visit Kirke. Slowly and with great toil, down on the earth's surface, they will have passed over distances that Aietes easily traversed on high. They will make their way incrementally from one place to another, confronting various challenges on the way. In his speech Aietes mentions not a single landmark, only the beginning and end points of his journey. To him the intervening space is simply distance, void of any significant shape or event and abstracted into "measures."

The Argonauts' ascent of Mount Dindymon is the first of three critical moments in their journey when they gain a prospective understanding of the region through which they are about to travel. From Mount Dindymon they can see as far as the Bosporos, but it will require the seer Phineus to tell them of the voyage in store for them from that point to Colchis (2.311–407). Phineus's blindness contrasts with their sight, his speech with the view they see. But in essence the two episodes are similar. Phineus's speech is an abridged and summary version

8. Note that the Homeric simile describes not a divine descent but the opposite, Hera's passage from earth (Mount Ida) to Olympos. Apollonius's reversal of direction emphasizes that he is combining human and divine experiences of space. For a discussion of the differences between those experiences in Homer that is suggestive for Apollonius as well, see Purves 2006a (the Iliadic simile is discussed on 194–95).

of the narrative that is to come of the *Argo*'s voyage along the southern coast of the Black Sea. Since the narrative tracks the voyage, Phineus's speech stands in the same relation to the later narrative as the view from Mount Dindymon stands to the Argonauts' journey through the Propontis. That is, it is another of the comprehensive prospects over space that serve as a foil to the Argonauts' spatial experience as they sail. The third such moment occurs at the end of the voyage in the Black Sea. When the Argonauts are fleeing from Colchis, the Phrixid Argos tells Jason of a different route home from the way they came, one he knows about from ancient pillars possessed by the Colchians (4.279–93). Evidently what is inscribed on these pillars is a map; or if not, it is "a verbal set of instructions or itineraries"[9] like Phineus's speech. Map or not, it is parallel to the first two previews of the Argonauts' route, which are themselves cartographic in character.

Thus Apollonius describes three distinct modes of experiencing space: the "god's eye" view, panoramas that mortals can attain under certain special conditions such as by climbing mountains, and a direct experience of space by passing through it and interacting with the landscape and with other people. The significant difference is between the third mode and the first two. They are exceptional, and their function in the poem is to emphasize by contrast that the narrative will be primarily concerned with space as it is directly experienced, space as lived. It will be noticed that the synoptic experiences of space discussed so far, divine and human, are purely visual (in keeping with the adjective I have just used) and involve distance. On their journey the Argonauts will experience space and the places that constitute it through sight of course but also, and just as importantly, through other senses as well. They will feel the wind and the motion of the waves, they will hear the Sirens' song drowned out by Orpheus's, and they will smell the stench from Phaethon's incinerated body in the Eridanos River and hear his sisters keening. This mode of spatial experience, and its differences from the other two, are crucial to the production (or construction) of space in the *Argonautika*.

By comparison with the synoptic views of space, the Argonauts' experience may appear constricted. But the "god's eye" perspective has limits of its own. Michel de Certeau begins his essay "Walking in the City" by describing the view over New York City from one of the towers of the World Trade Center. It is an abstract, "geometric," "totalizing" view, one that can take no cognizance of the actual spatial practices of the city's inhabitants on the streets far below—practices that "refer to a specific form of *operations* ('ways of operating'), to 'another spatiality' (an 'anthropological,' poetic and mythic experience of space)."[10] The *Argonautika* suggests a similar contrast. Eros may see "the cities of men," but with his distanced, "totalizing" view of the world, he can have no

9. Clare 2002: 130. As he well says, "whether or not the Pillars of Aea are a visual map, the function fulfilled by the pillars is certainly cartographical in practice" (131).

10. de Certeau 1984: 91–93 (quotation from 93).

knowledge of (or takes no interest in) the particularities of those cities, the multitude of practices—at once cultural and spatial—that together create and re-create a human community and relate communities to each other in ways more important than mere contiguity or distance. Even the Argonauts, as they view the mist-shrouded Bosporos from far off Mount Dindymon, can have no idea how agonizing it will be actually to force their way through the Clashing Rocks. But they—and we—will find out.

The voyage of the *Argo* presents us with a spatial experience between King Kyzikos's localism, focused exclusively on a single place, and Eros's and Aietes' abstracting panoramic viewpoint. In its passage from place to place, each with its own character and local traditions to which signs of the Argonauts' visit will often be added, the *Argo* traces a route that threads these places together in a new set of relations.[11] Apollonius asks his early Hellenistic readers to think past their experience of the contemporary world dominated by Greeks and imagine a time when the history that produced that world was just beginning: when various distinct localities were not organized into larger wholes even conceptually, not to mention politically. Combining the mythic geography of the *Odyssey* with the geographical speculations of earlier historians and logographers, more recently acquired geographical knowledge, and the actual experiences of Greek colonists from the Archaic period on, he configures a space as perceived through the lens of Greek culture. He does so by connecting, through the *Argo*'s route, the Aegean, Black, Adriatic, and western Mediterranean seas, with their shorelines and islands, and also the Cyrenaica in North Africa, not far from where he was writing in Alexandria. He presents this voyage as an archetypal construction, from a Greek perspective, of at least part of an *oikoumenê*[12]—the inhabited world understood as a system built up by the interrelation of places within it, as James Romm has described it: "a region made coherent by the intercommunication of its inhabitants, such that, within the radius of this region, no tribe or race is completely cut off from the peoples beyond it. . . . It [the *oikoumenê*] constitutes the space within which empirical investigation, like that championed by Herodotus, can take place, since all of its regions fall within the compass either of travel or of informed report."[13] I would shift his emphasis, however, and say that in the *Argonautika*, an *oikoumenê* is not merely the setting for empirical experience but is constructed by it.

In short, the *Argonautika* represents, as a process, the production of space.

11. Cf. Tuan 1977: 82–83: "The ocean [for the Puluwatans] is a network of seaways linking up numerous islands, not a fearsome expanse of unmarked water. Polynesian and Micronesian navigators have conquered space by transforming it into a familiar world of routes and places." I would speak, however, of "producing" rather than "conquering" space.

12. Cf. Endsjø 1997: 382–85, who comes close to my central argument from a different direction. Note especially his statement (382): "From what originally represents a blur of undefined time, space, and social categories, Apollonius' Argonauts, through their achievements, inaugurate history and incorporate this realm [the *oikoumenê*] into the rationally perceived world."

13. Romm 1992: 37.

A Preliminary Distinction: Space, Not Geography

The Argonauts' view from Mount Dindymon has suggested some fundamental characteristics of space, as well as raising questions about it. These need to be discussed more fully, because they are essential to the argument of this book. We all experience space at every moment of our waking lives, and so it is easy to assume that space is a self-evident concept.[14] It is not; and in this and the following sections I would like to make clear what I mean, and what I do not mean, when I use the term.

In the first place, a basic distinction might be helpful. I mean by "space" something beyond "geography," at least in its positivist form as the accumulation of knowledge about the physical world (the location of places and measurement of distances between them) and the plotting of cities and towns within it.[15] Space includes geography in this sense, and I would not deny its importance in the *Argonautika*. There have been excellent studies of the extent (and limits) of Apollonius's geographical knowledge and of his sources that are helpful in what I want to do.[16] Apollonius evidently responded, in some cases directly and in others indirectly, to new geographical knowledge and to contemporary or relatively recent writers on geography. But if we expect from him a "scientific" geography, we are in for disappointment. "An epic on the Argonauts has stretches of versified periplus like a catalogue of peoples along the south coast of the Black Sea, the same old series," writes a prominent historian of ancient geography. "These writings [of Alexandrian poets] have small value for the new knowledge of their own day, and still less for its brilliant science."[17]

On the other hand, the *Argonautika* does offer a richly suggestive portrayal of space, the physical world as it is experienced, shaped, and imagined by human beings in their social and cultural interactions. It is interesting that two successive heads of the Library at Alexandria embody the difference between space and a positivist geography respectively. Eratosthenes,

14. As Tuan 1977: 3 says, "Space and place are basic components of the lived world; we take them for granted. When we think about them, however, they may assume unexpected meanings and raise questions we have not thought to ask."

15. Many geographers today, especially cultural geographers, would not accept this description of their field. It is, however, what is commonly meant in discussions of geography in Apollonius—understandably so, since the fundamentals of a positivist geography were laid down in the Hellenistic period.

16. For example, Delage 1930; Pearson 1938; Zanker 1987: 116–19; Romm 1992: 194–96; Ends**j⌀** 1997; Hurst 1998; Meyer 1998, 2008; Nishimura-Jensen 2000; M. L. West 2005. There are also comments on geography and Apollonius's sources in the scholia. Cf. Harder 1994 on "travel descriptions" in the poem and Williams 1991 on descriptions of landscape. Fraser 1972: I, 520–53 gives a helpful account of Alexandrian geographical writing. On Hellenistic achievements in geography, see Thomson 1948, chaps. 4 and 5, and Nicolet 1991: 58–63.

17. Thomson 1948: 168. A *periplo)us* is a "voyage around" the known world or a significant part of it, or the narrative of such a voyage.

Apollonius's successor in that post, represents the new knowledge and a "scientific" geography, as is suggested by his measurement of the earth's circumference and his map of the *oikoumenê*. His method in producing the map became standard later in antiquity and in the early modern period. It was based on travelers' accounts of their journeys and the lands they had visited, which he sifted to pick out the most reliable and "truthful" in a manner parallel to the culling of manuscripts by Alexandrian editors of literary texts. His map took a geometrical form—a tetragon—within which he plotted the relative positions of various places on a grid.[18] It was not intended to be mimetic but represented a kind of second-order abstraction of his sources' empirical observations.[19] His caustic remark about the futility of plotting the wanderings of Odysseus (fr. 5 Roller = Strabo 1.2.15) shows that he was well aware of the difference between his own and poetic geographies. In Apollonius we see a very different, in many ways opposed, geographical sense at work, one that I would call a spatial sense. Since Delage, scholars agree that the *Argonautika*'s geography is a blend of the scientific and the fabulous, although opinions vary somewhat on the precise mix.[20] There seems also to be general agreement that Apollonius's purpose, insofar as he strove for factual accuracy, was to lend his narrative an air of veracity or authenticity.[21] But the vivid force of myth and the fabulous in the poem also calls for comment. It could be explained as a reaction to scientific rationalism as manifested in Eratosthenes' map, which "de-magicalized" space.[22] There may be truth to this view, but it leads all too easily to seeing Apollonius's "re-mythologizing" of space as a nostalgic resistance to new intellectual achievements and therefore to depicting him and other Alexandrian poets as disengaged with the main

18. If this was in the shape of a *chlamys* or Greek military cloak, like the city of Alexandria itself, and Eratosthenes intended it that way (cf. frr. 30, 53 Roller = Strabo 2.5.5–6; 2.5.14), then his scientific map was not independent of Greek cultural presuppositions or perhaps even of imperialist ideology. See Jacob 1999: 31. For an explanation of what was meant by the comparison, see Zimmermann 2002.

19. These statements about Eratosthenes' map summarize Jacob 1999: 30–35, 40–46. Cf. Jacob 1998: 28–30 for Alexandrian geography in the context of the Library. On maps as evidence of "spatial ability" as distinct from "spatial knowledge," see Tuan 1977: 76–78. But see Purves 2010: 118–58, on maps and narrative. The fragments of Eratosthenes' *Geographika* reflect a positivist geography and a conception of space as absolute. Book 1 was concerned with questions of geographical knowledge and the earth's formation. Book 2 treated the earth as a surface (e.g., fr. 30 Roller = Strabo 2.5.5–6) to be measured; it summarized Eratosthenes' calculations of the earth's circumference and gave the dimensions of the *oikoumenê*, as well as dividing the earth into five zones. In book 3, Eratosthenes constructed parallels and meridians and then described, in order from east to west, the units (*sphragides*) into which he divided the *oikoumenê*. Here his emphasis was on topography, boundaries, and the distances between places. Although various peoples inhabiting these spaces were named, only in certain cases were brief accounts given of their customs. For a helpful summary, see Roller 2010: 23–30.

20. See Delage 1930: 190–91.

21. See especially Pearson 1938: 458–59; Zanker 1987: 113, 116–19. Pearson suggests that the mixture of myth and science can be at least partly explained by an extensive reliance on Hecataeus rather than on more recent geographical writers. One implication of his argument is that we should not overestimate the amount of "science" in Apollonius.

22. Hartog 2001: 105–6. Hartog himself sees this reaction as part of a larger enterprise of re-defining Hellenism—a point that converges with the argument of this book.

currents of Hellenistic culture. I would place the persistence of myth in the poem within the broader context of its spatiality, and I suggest later that this delineation of space is intimately connected with Hellenistic cultural processes. If "the map gave a spatial and temporal cohesiveness and homogeneity to data,"[23] like Eros's view from Mount Olympos, Apollonius gave a different kind of cohesion to a space made of very different places, with their own traditions and associated narratives. Abstraction as opposed to particularity: positivist geography is what Eros sees as he flies down from Mount Olympos, what Aietes saw from Helios's chariot, what Phineus describes, and what is represented on the Colchian pillars; space is what the Argonauts experience and produce.

With its descriptions of places in geographical order, the *Argonautika* has obvious affinities with *periplous* texts, which recount "voyages around" the world as the name implies, or methodically list places and peoples throughout the world as it was then known or conceived. Here too, however, I want to make distinctions, which can best be brought out with reference to two examples. The Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* recounted the Boreads' winged pursuit of the Harpies in order to bring relief to Phineus (Hes. frr. 150–57 M-W), and, from the testimonia and the one substantial surviving fragment, it is clear that the narrative included a catalogue of the places they passed as they flew above Africa and the western Mediterranean, including the Eridanos River. That is, this text described a synoptic view of space. When Apollonius recounts the same episode (2.269–300), he mentions not a single place on their itinerary, but says only that the Harpies "rushed over the sea, outward and far away" (ὑπὲρ πόντοιο φέροντο / τῆλε παρέξ, 2.270–71)—until the very end of the pursuit. Over the Plotai or "Floating Islands" in the Sicilian Sea, Iris persuades the Boreads to abandon the chase in return for the Harpies' promise to leave Phineus in peace. The Harpies go to Crete and the Boreads turn back to the Propontis and Phineus. The Floating Islands are henceforth known as the Strophades, "Turn-Around Islands." The Hesiodic text does not seem to have mentioned this change.[24] It gave a list of places from a perspective above the earth (geography). In Apollonius, the episode involves an intervention in a place. What occurred far above it leaves a memory, a narrative that the islands' new name encapsulates and will conjure up whenever it is spoken or heard; it *produces* these islands as a signifying place.[25]

23. Jacob 1999: 38.

24. Unless, that is, the information to this effect in fr. 155 M-W (= [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 1.9.21) is derived from that poem. But note the editors' comment: "locus dubiae fidei, ubi nihil Hesiodeum nisi nomen Harpyiae ("a passage of doubtful reliability, where there is nothing Hesiodic except the Harpy's name").

25. For the list of places passed by the Boreads that the *Catalogue* gives, Apollonius substitutes Phineus's speech (2.311–91), which fills the time back in his house until the Boreads return. This speech does have the nature of a *periplous*; it is essentially a list of places that the Argonauts will pass when they leave him. Its abstracting perspective on space also contrasts with the spatial implications of the change of the Floating Islands' name, which occurs as Phineus speaks.

Apollonius clearly was responding to the Hesiodic text. My second example is a poem that he influenced in turn, the poetic description of the world by Dionysius of Alexandria (or Periegetes), which dates probably from the second century CE.[26] Dionysius describes the lands and peoples of the *oikoumenê* on all three continents (as then conceived)—Libya, Europe, and Asia—from the Pillars of Herakles in the west to the Pillars of Dionysus in the east. Although he sometimes writes from the perspective of someone "on the spot" or speaks as though he expects his reader to be sailing to the places he describes,[27] he makes it clear that for him verbal description replaces the actual experience of a place. He is most explicit on this point in lines 707–17, where in words reminiscent of Hesiod's expression of distaste for sailing (*W.D.* 646–62), he says that he can describe the Caspian Sea without ever having gone there, thanks to the Muses.[28] Their understanding transports him there, he says, since without traveling they can measure (*μετρήσασθαι*) the sea, the mountains, the land, and the paths of the stars. Dionysius also several times describes the outlines of land masses in ways that make sense only when one is looking at a map. If you joined Europe and Libya together the result would be a triangle with its base in the east and its apex in the west (lines 275–80). The Peloponnesos has the shape of the leaf of a plane tree (403–8). The Euxine (Black) Sea resembles a bow (159–69), and India has a diamond shape (1130–31). As Christian Jacob has observed, this poem gives a synoptic view of space; he compares it to those seen by Daidalos and Ikaros, and by Phaethon. It is a mimesis of a map (though it cannot, of course, be identical with a map), an image of the *oikoumenê* that it describes.[29]

This treatment of space is very different from Apollonius's. The final effect of the *Argonautika* in the reader's mind might be something like a mental map of part of the Black Sea and much of the Mediterranean, but it is subjective, built up from the narrative of the Argonauts' experience of that space as the *Argo* connects place with place. It is symptomatic of this difference that the Apollonian passages that Richard Hunter discusses as having influenced Dionysius are, with the exception of the beginning and end of the *Argonautika*, passages that I have discussed earlier as reflecting the synoptic view of space and as emphasizing by contrast the production of space through the Argonauts' voyage: Eros's view from Olympos and the simile at 2.541–48.[30] It is also true that Apollonius does not try to be complete but is selective. Even within the area covered by the voyage he does not mention every region and tribe, so that it is clear that he is constructing a model rather than trying to describe a geographical

26. On the relation of this poem to the *Argonautika*, see Hunter 2004 and Cusset 2004b.
27. E.g., 478, 492–93, 539, 549, 580–81, 587–88, 608, 849, 1016, 1053.
28. See also lines 170–73 and 881–86.
29. Jacob 1981: 26–56.
30. Hunter 2004: 218–23. On Dionysius and Apollonius, see also Meyer 1998.

reality. And he omits, of course, much of the world, including the vast area conquered by Alexander. Through his allusions to Apollonius, Dionysius incorporates the space defined by the *Argonautika* into a comprehensive description of the world.[31] And this points to an irony. Apollonius uses the form of the *periplous* to do something else with space: to describe the process of its cultural production rather than give an abstract outline of it. Dionysius abstracts the space thus produced back into geographical catalogue.

If we work solely with the notion of geography that I have described, we probably will not get beyond the conclusion to which many discussions of geography in the *Argonautika* have led, which is by now a critical commonplace: that Apollonius combined a "scientific" geography with mythic fantasy in order to give his poem an air of plausibility.[32] This statement may be true enough, although I am not sure why plausibility had to be an artistic goal, and I would question the validity of the dichotomy it assumes. Even so, what does such a conclusion teach us? What can we do with it? Not only is it limited but it also opens the door to dismissing Apollonius as worth less attention than Hellenistic science, as we saw earlier. This is where we will end up as long as we take it for granted that the topic involves a fixed and absolute space. As I hope to show in the rest of this book, much more interesting possibilities open up once we reflect on space and recognize that it can be understood not only as absolute but also as a process that is deeply entwined with cultural activities and social and political relations, as I explain in the next section. The work that has been done on Apollonius's geography is valuable—indeed, indispensable for me. But it seems time for a different approach.

In fact, a few modern scholars have addressed the topic of space (understood in this way) in the *Argonautika*, although for the most part briefly. Santiago Rubio's PhD dissertation, the one work entirely devoted to the subject, is groundbreaking but leaves more to say.[33] Susan Stephens' remarks on place as "a mnemonic for cultural identity," Richard Hunter's explorations of the poem's "divine and human map," and Christophe Cusset's discussion of the Argonauts' encounters with non-Greeks in spatial terms point in directions I propose to take here.[34] In several articles on geography in the *Argonautika* that provide a rich background to the topic, Doris Meyer uses the notion of cognitive

31. Jacob 1990: 48–49.

32. E.g., Delage 1930: 290–91; Williams 1991: 193; Clare 2002: 124–26; and, more subtly, Endsjø 1997: 384–85. The Argonauts' return journey (book 4) has figured prominently in these discussions. Vian 1987, though denying any mythic character to the return itinerary, Harder 1994, who stresses the role of *aitia* in lending the narrative verisimilitude and stresses the rarity of *aitia* in the return journey and so its fictive nature, and Meyer 2008 also frame their discussions within the opposition between myth and realism.

33. Rubio 1992.

34. Stephens 2008: 97; Hunter 2008a; Cusset 2004a. When Hunter discusses religion he moves away from treating space, and "map" seems to become metaphorical. Cusset sees Apollonius as using only the binary antithesis between Greek (cultured) and barbarian (savage), whereas I think that the poem's treatment of this relationship has far more nuance.

or mental maps. However, she discusses as typical of Apollonius's treatment of space only those passages discussed above as embodying the "god's eye" view of space in contrast to the Argonauts' experience of it.[35] Paduano offers an interesting overview of space and time in the poem that has points of contact with my discussion of individual episodes. He seems, however, to assume an absolute rather than a relational notion of space.[36] These anticipations show a growing awareness of the importance of space to the poem, the timeliness of a full-scale and systematic examination of it, and the need for a crisper conceptual framework.

Space, Culture, and Narrative

Space as a concept, then, encompasses geography as emplotment and measurement and in some ways relies on it; but it includes much more: in particular, human experience. Here are six propositions regarding space that are fundamental to this book. The first two can be stated briefly, but the rest need some explanation. They are drawn from various writers whose ideas I have found especially helpful in thinking about the *Argonautika*. These scholars are mainly in the social sciences, where fruitful discussions of space have long been taking place, with greater momentum over the last three or four decades.[37]

PROPOSITION 1. Space is not simply the inert setting for human cultural activity but the medium for social and political relations, which organize and order it.

PROPOSITION 2. In turn, those relations are not only reflected in space but also, to a significant degree, constituted, reproduced, and reconstituted by it. It is in this dialectical sense that space is produced.[38]

35. Meyer 1998; 2008. Symptomatic is this statement about Apollonius's incorporation of geography into his poem: "The geographical 'material' is organized along the lines of a *periplous* or in terms of the quasi-cartographic bird's-eye view" (2008: 283). This blurs what for me is an essential distinction, but I have found much of value in Meyer's writings.

36. Paduano 1992. The terms "absolute" and "relational" space are explained in the next section.

37. Not that these discussions have been free of controversy, or that they have not met resistance, especially regarding the relation of space to time or history. For one perspective, see Soja 1989, 1996, and 2009. I cannot claim to have mastered anything like the huge and growing bibliography on space in various fields, and from what I have read I cite those works that are most pertinent to my purposes. Much that has been written on space in the social sciences is aimed at more recent periods. I have tried to be careful in applying it to an ancient text.

38. These first two propositions rely especially on Lefebvre 1991 (the English translation, which I have used, of his 1974 book in French). But they underlie many discussions of space. As Soja says, social space is "simultaneously contingent and conditioning." And again, "the spatial order of human existence arises from the (social) production of space, the construction of human geographies that both reflect and configure being in the world" (1989: 58 and 25 respectively).

PROPOSITION 3. Space is therefore not lifeless, or reducible to a surface to be traveled across and perhaps conquered, or to be measured and divided into discrete and discontinuous units (house, neighborhood, city, region, nation). Rather, space is also relative and relational—dynamic, a process.[39]

This is, of course, the crux of the whole question of space; one could not adopt any of the other propositions listed here (except, perhaps, the sixth) without accepting this one. For us, the understanding of space as absolute and as a measurable surface (what I called positivist geography earlier) has its roots in the Cartesian view of an objective reality observed by a preexisting, autonomous self detached from space and time.[40] Its emergence can be coordinated with the proliferation of map-making in the Renaissance and voyages of discovery and conquest. The dominance of the Cartesian geometrical view of space in the West from the Enlightenment until well into the twentieth century dovetailed with the development of capitalism, colonialism, modern science, the rise of the nation-state, and a wide range of other phenomena.[41] The history of its influence, however, would seem to reveal space as socially and culturally produced. As Warf observes, "the discourses of space did far more than passively represent entities that existed before them, but were actively a part of *producing* that very geography; they were, in short, simultaneously reflective and constitutive of the reality they represented."[42] More generally, we all from time to time treat space as geometric; we use maps to find our way, we measure the distance between two points, and we calculate the area of a room or a house. Science has found exquisitely sophisticated ways to measure vast spaces and to locate individual people within space (think of global positioning devices). The point is not that this approach to space is illegitimate or misguided, although it does have consequences (not all bad by any means) that we should be aware of. Rather, it is one of several conceptions of space that come into play in different contexts.

In this book, a fundamental distinction will be between space as absolute and space as relative or relational, although the difference between the latter two is also important.[43] Relative space is characterized by motion and processes, which produce it. The movement of people, commodities, or capital into and through a city produces that city as a different kind of space from what it appears to be from the point of view of private property or government, where it is treated as absolute space. The flow of commodities between cities produces

39. The bibliography on this question is vast. An excellent guide to it and the stakes involved is Massey 2005. I have also been greatly helped here by Soja 1996 and of course Lefebvre 1991.

40. But the ancients also had a notion of absolute space, as Eratosthenes' cartographic ambitions show, as do the passages of the *Argonautika* with which this chapter began.

41. Warf 2009: 60–65, with bibliography. Cf. Lefebvre 1991: 229–91, on the "abstract space" of capitalism.

42. Warf 2009: 62.

43. Harvey 2006 and 2009: 134–41, to whom this and the next paragraph are heavily indebted, provides an excellent introduction to absolute, relative, and relational space.

them as parts of a network of trade, and this might differ from the relation between them that is created by the movement of people. Thus in this aspect of space processes create relations, and space is perceived from different positions and is understood differently according to the frame of reference of the perceiver. The physical distance in absolute space between London and New York has not changed in the last century, but it has shrunk dramatically from the perspective of travel and communications. Relative space, then, is never given once and for all, as absolute space is. It is always in process.[44]

Whereas in relative space flows and movement affect space and time and our understandings of them, in relational space relations of various sorts produce their own space and time. This is the space and time of ideas, memories, dreams, and fantasies, of the relations that emerge when people, each with his or her own experiences, thoughts, and understandings, come together. In answering the question of why this conception of space is useful, David Harvey gives some useful examples:

> I cannot box collective memories in some absolute space (clearly situate them on a grid or a map), nor can I understand their circulation according to the rules, however sophisticated, of circulation and diffusion of ideas in relative space-time. I cannot understand much of what Walter Benjamin does in his Arcades project without appealing to relational ideas about the spacetime of memory. I cannot even understand the idea of the city without situating it in relational terms. If, furthermore, I ask the question, of what the Basilica of Sacré-Coeur in Paris, Tiananmen Square in Beijing, or "Ground Zero" in Manhattan *means*, then I cannot come to a full answer without invoking relationalities. And that entails coming to terms with the things, events, processes, and socio-ecological relations that have produced those places in spacetime.[45]

Because relations are constantly being created and re-created, experiences and memories formed and reformed, relational space involves a non-Cartesian subject that is not necessarily determined but shaped in important ways by those relations. Identities are not fixed and static in relational space and time, but open and fluid.[46]

The absolute and relative/relational conceptions of space are adumbrated not only by the contrast between Eratosthenes and Apollonius but also, within

44. The view of space as relative is often traced back to Leibniz, in his debate with Samuel Clarke over Newtonian physics: for example, "As for my own opinion, I have said more than once, that I hold space to be merely relative, as time is; that I hold it to be an order of coexistences, as time is an order of successions" (Alexander 1956: 25–26). His fullest discussion of this idea is in his last contribution to the exchange (Alexander 1956: 66–72). See Warf 2009: 59 and Harvey 2006: 273–74.

45. Harvey 2009: 140.

46. Ibid.: 137–38, 252–60.

the *Argonautika*, by the opposition between the "god's eye" view of space and the human experience of it that unfolds in the course of the Argonauts' voyage.[47] Eratosthenes' map, the map (if it is one) on the pillars in Colchis, the panoramas taken in by Eros and Aietes, all entail a notion of the earth as a surface that can be measured and that is complete, with everything in its place once and for all (how could one map it otherwise?). They all privilege sight as the means of knowing space, just as the Cartesian ego understands space by observing it from a detached position.[48] In the conception that predominates in Apollonius's poem, by contrast, space is in the process of being constructed, it is relational, and it is experienced somatically and through all the senses (including, of course, sight). The counterpart to the open and fluid subject is the examination of Hellenism that occurs progressively in the narrative in tandem with the production of space, as I hope to show.

PROPOSITION 4. Relative and relational space, as process, cannot be separated from time (in particular, history).

It may be the case, as Foucault claimed long ago, that "the present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space,"[49] but for a long time and with growing insistence since the late nineteenth century, the Western intellectual tradition emphasized time and history and devalued space. To quote Foucault again: "Space was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile. Time, on the contrary, was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic."[50] Much has been written about the problems with this viewpoint, but as these words suggest, and as Massey has shown in detail with reference to Bergson, it assumes the Cartesian understanding of space. Once the conceptual frame is shifted to space as relative or relational and process-laden, there is no good reason to ignore it in favor of time, or to do anything other than think them both together as "time-space."[51] In the *Argonautika*, as we shall see in chapter 2, a wonderfully complex temporal scheme unfolds in tandem with the construction of space.[52]

47. My verb "adumbrated" is carefully chosen. The two pairs of contrasts are not identical, and I am not claiming continuity between the one and the other. But there are important congruences.

48. See Warf 2009: 60–61. His term for this self is "the ocularcentric ego."

49. Foucault 1986: 22 (the text of a lecture delivered in 1967). Cf. the title of Warf and Arias 2009: *The Spatial Turn*. Note, however, that both Foucault and that title imply the privileging of space over time—merely an inversion of the previous situation. I want to argue for their equal importance and their mutual implication.

50. Foucault 1980: 70. In remarks scattered through various interviews (e.g., 1980: 149–50; 1984: 246, 253, in addition to the one just cited) Foucault showed a deep understanding of the issues surrounding space. Although I have used his ideas here and there in this book, I have not done so systematically because, although much of his work is implicitly concerned with space, he never worked out or made explicit the relation he claimed between space and power. See Harvey 2007, who also argues that Foucault's acceptance of Kant's ideas of space and time limited his own conception of space and in particular led him to assume the notion of absolute space.

51. Massey 2005: 27: "what is at issue, in the production of representations, is not the spatialization of time (understood as the rendering of time as space), but the representation of time-space." For Harvey (2009: 135, 137), relative space involves "space-time" (the two are inseparable), whereas relational space is really "spacetime" (they are fused).

52. For an exploration of time, space, and place, see Tuan 1977: 118–35; 1978a.

To tie the first four propositions together, we should think in terms of Lefebvre's triad: history, space, and society, as they are mutually constituted and inseparable from one another.[53]

PROPOSITION 5. Our understanding of space is, in highly important ways, a narrative understanding. If space is something we experience on various levels down to and including the body, we codify that experience and order it in narrative. Because narrative preserves the history of those experiences and is therefore a central means of producing space, it provides another link between space and time.

This proposition contains the justification for discussing space in a literary text (as opposed to actual social relations). Two complementary accounts, one by the anthropologist Christopher Tilley (along with Michel de Certeau, on whom he draws), the other by the geographer Doreen Massey—will help us appreciate the connection between narrative and space, especially as it bears on the *Argonautika*. Developing de Certeau's discussion of walking through a city as a "pedestrian speech act,"[54] Tilley discusses paths as "writing on the ground,"[55] in that they create a spatial order and construct and maintain social relations. Because paths are the medium of movement, "the importance and significance of a place can only be appreciated as part of movement from and to it in relation to others, and the act of moving may be as important as that of arriving." Formed by repeated movement along them, paths have an important temporal dimension, as do the places to and from which they lead. Over time memories and stories accumulate in reference to the places that paths connect. Thus "it follows that an art of understanding of place, movement and landscape must fundamentally be a narrative understanding."[56] Conversely, narratives, incorporated in literary texts, take the form of spatial stories.[57] Texts articulate, clarify, and reinforce or question the knowledge embodied and reproduced in spatial practices. Summarizing the implications of de Certeau's essay on this topic, Tilley comments that "the story is a discursive articulation of a spatializing practice, a bodily itinerary and routine. Spatial stories are about the operations and practices which constitute places and locales."[58] And that, it seems to me, is a fine description of the *Argonautika*, which narrates a voyage

53. Soja 1996: 70–73.

54. De Certeau 1984: 97: "The act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statements uttered." Tuan 1991 discusses the fundamental role of language in the construction of place.

55. Tilley 1994: 29–31.

56. Tilley 1994: 31. In the early Greek epic tradition, as it happens, "the paths [*οἶμαι*] of song" is a prominent way of naming poetic narrative. This is discussed in chap. 2.

57. See de Certeau's essay, "Spatial Stories," 1984: 115–30. On geography in literature, see also (from a geographer's point of view) Tuan 1978a and (from a literary scholar's point of view) Moretti 1998. Neither is concerned with space in exactly the sense in which I have discussed it here, although Moretti comes close and his book in certain ways helped inspire my own interest.

58. Tilley 1994: 32. Basso 1996 gives a beautiful illustration from the Apache.

over the paths of the sea (a Homeric and Apollonian metaphor) that is a spatial practice constituting places and the larger space that comprises them.

The narratives connected with places are not necessarily true. Edward Said has discussed the propensity of groups to invent traditions and associate them with places as a central act in defining their identity in the present,[59] and this idea too is important for my project. The *Argonautika*, I will argue, represents the creation of a set of traditions as a way of exploring the nature of Hellenism.

Massey emphasizes not so much the interrelation among places as the narrative depth of individual places, and sees narrative as underlying place as process. She understands place as convergence; when people come together, the place of their meeting is the site of the intersection of their various stories, and it is constantly being produced by the resulting social, economic, and power relations, with a reciprocal effect in the constitution of our selves:

> On this reading, the spatial, crucially, is the realm of the configuration of potentially dissonant (or concordant) narratives. Places, rather than being locations of coherence, become the foci of the meeting and the nonmeeting of the previously unrelated and thus integral to the generation of novelty. The spatial in its role of bringing distinct temporalities into new configurations sets off new social processes. And in turn, this emphasizes the nature of narratives, of time itself, as being not about the unfolding of some internalized story (some already-established identities)—the self-producing story of Europe—but about interaction and *the process of the constitution* of identities.[60]

In these accounts of place as produced and reconfigured by the intersection in it of various "trajectories" and their accompanying stories, and as an accumulation of narratives through a bodily movement that produces a spatial order, all the characteristics of space basic to my discussion of the *Argonautika* come together: space as relational, produced by and helping to shape social relations and thus to constitute identities over time and through a narrative process. In the course of their voyage the Argonauts, with their story of their quest and its background, but bearing also the various stories that constitute Greek heroic tradition, encounter diverse people, with their own very different histories and trajectories. These encounters are not neutral. The places in which they occur are often, and to varying degrees, reshaped; for one thing, many of them are to become the sites of important Greek colonies. Simultaneously, through these encounters and the reconfiguration of these places, a narrative about "the process of the constitution" of Greek identity unfolds. In other places, however, others' stories cannot be absorbed but remain strongly

59. Said 2000.
60. Massey 2005: 71

articulated. In such cases, the limits of Hellenism and fault lines within it emerge. Hellenism is not a "self-producing" story, and the production of space in this poem is not simple, but complex.

Notice that "place" has crept into the discussion, alongside "space." Now for their relationship.

PROPOSITION 6. "Space" as a concept is not opposed to "place"; the two are complementary and interdependent.

This statement may seem uncontroversial, but in fact not everyone would agree with it. The relation between space and place has generated considerable discussion, but I will indicate the view of it I am adopting for my purposes.[61]

Place *is* space. For one thing, it is made up of a number of sub-places, or sites that constitute it spatially and socially. For example, a neighborhood in a town or city might consist of several blocks, each with its own meaning for its inhabitants, shops that are hubs of social interaction, a church, a synagogue, a cemetery, and so on. But the neighborhood is a place in relation to other neighborhoods, and together they all make up the space of a city. Cities are places in relation to the nation as a space that they help to constitute. As this indicates, space and place are not identical. The difference is not just one of scale, though scale is perhaps the basis for it. Places are sites of human beings' interaction with their natural and social environment, invested with meaning and charged with feelings from the uses people make of them.[62] Space is less concrete; in my usage here, it is a system of interrelations between places.[63] Thus the Argonauts produce a space (much of the *oikoumenê*) by bringing places into alignment as stops on their itinerary. Their voyage illustrates Tuan's famous formulation: if space implies movement, "place is a break or pause in movement—the pause that allows a location to become a center of meaning with space organized around it."[64]

It does not follow, however, that space is opposed to place. Clearly one's identification with a given location as place depends on the context. I might

61. For an excellent discussion of this relation, see Harvey 2009: 166–201. To sample some of the complexity of this issue, see Langton 1988 and Tilley 1994: 14–17. Tuan tends to oppose space and place more sharply than I would (1977: 6, 54; 1978b: 7) but gives excellent descriptions of their interrelationship (1977: 12, 82–83). Clarke's brief discussion of the difficulty of opposing place as lived in to space comes close to my position (1999: 200–201). Massey (2004) discusses the intellectual and political consequences of opposing place to space with reference to the local vs. the global. Opposing space to place often assumes an absolute view of space and leads to the privileging of place as the locus of all that is culturally significant (e.g., Casey 1996, Curry 2005).

62. The best account of place and its importance in human cultures is Tuan 1977. Casey 1996 also contains an excellent account of place as fundamental to human culture and experience, despite too sharp a distinction between space and place.

63. Cf. Tuan 1977: 12: "space can be variously experienced as the relative location of objects or places, as the distances and expanses that separate or link places, and—more abstractly—as the area defined by a network of places."

64. Tuan 1978b: 14; cf. 1977: 6.

sometimes feel the space of a city to be impersonal or alien by comparison with home or neighborhood, which I experience as centers of warm relationships. But at other times I might feel an attachment to that city in competition with other cities—a feeling often fostered by professional sports—or feel a rush of affection for it on returning to it from other places. Moreover, if places are produced as such by movement into and out of them, that does not mean that space is a void to be passed through on the way to creating meaning. Those pathways create a network of places that produces a space, and that space can be just as significant, materially and symbolically, as each place. That is certainly the case in the *Argonautika*, where a Greek space is produced by events at particular places.

Even understood in this way, places are not static;[65] they are still points of convergence and encounter between people, as Massey says.[66] In fact, their dynamic character is basic to the production of space as a network of places. Another aspect of human interaction with place is also important to the *Argonautika*. Just as people experience space from the body outward, so they experience the world from the perspective of a particular place (home, for example) in which the self is anchored. Tuan calls this phenomenon "the prestige of the center."[67] In the *Argonautika*, mainland Greece is that center, around which space becomes organized, and it furnishes the perspective through which most of the story is told. The emotional charge given the word νόστος (*nostos*, "return home") in the poem is a sign of this. Accordingly, the voyage to Colchis, direct and aimed toward a goal though it is, has the feeling of a venture into alien space, whereas the circuitous and much more dangerous journey away from Colchis carries the value of a homecoming.[68]

"Place" can refer to human habitations such as houses, towns, and cities, but also, and simultaneously, to the natural environment, especially when it has been given cultural meaning. The term "landscape" is often used in this connection.[69] Landscapes are not just the setting of human culture, but like all

65. Despite Tuan 1977: 179, whose opposition of space (as movement) to place (as rest) leads him to consider place static.

66. The various forms these convergences take, and the ways in which they shape and are shaped by place, is discussed by Pred (1984) from the perspective of "structuration theory." "Place," he argues, "is . . . a process whereby the reproduction of social and cultural forms, the formation of biographies, and the transformation of nature ceaselessly become one another at the same time that time-space specific activities and power relations ceaselessly become one another" (282).

67. Tuan 1977: 38. He explains, "people everywhere tend to regard their own homeland as the 'middle place' or the center of the world."

68. See Tuan 1978b: 12, who uses the example of the commute to and from work: "Going to work is a move outward and forward into the future; returning home, by contrast, is going back in space and time. Although home is the place yet to be reached and lies in my future as I drive towards it, I feel that I am moving back to the 'origin' of my world and hence to the past."

69. Tilley 1994: 22–27 gives an excellent discussion of landscape, to which the remarks that follow are indebted. See also Hirsch 1995. On the cultural and political meanings that landscapes can have, see the excellent essays collected in Mitchell 2002.

other aspects of space they at once are given meaning by human activity and structure that activity. Landscapes may help determine the form of ritual activity, for example, but they also are molded in turn by it, as when natural features such as mountains or rivers are marked out as holy. More generally, such natural features take on human meaning when they are given names and when stories are associated with them, so that the whole landscape becomes a system of meaning in which individual features are related to others. This organization of natural space into landscape through humanly imparted meaning is an essential part of what the Argonauts do in the course of their voyage.[70]

These six propositions can be thought of as the foundation for everything I have to say about space in the *Argonautika*, but it will be useful to supplement them by mentioning one work on space in particular: Henri Lefebvre's rich, fascinating, chaotic, often bewildering and maddening but deeply suggestive book, *The Production of Space*.[71] Not only have I taken the term (and concept) "production" from it, but also in it Lefebvre works out many of the implications of the propositions I have listed (he is, in fact, in the background of all but the fifth, even where I have not explicitly cited him). Although he refers to earlier periods, Lefebvre is mainly interested in the abstraction of space under capitalism, and therefore much of the book is difficult to apply directly to antiquity (not to mention an ancient literary text). But what is perhaps the most widely used part of his theory provides a means of recasting the substance of my propositions in a way that brings out especially clearly the social and political meanings of space. This is his "conceptual triad," three interdependent and dialectically related "moments" in the production of space:[72]

1. *Spatial practice*. This refers to the ways people relate to space materially—for example in their movements through it in their daily routines, but also on a journey: the *Argo*'s voyage is a spatial practice. The term also entails the experience of space through the body and its senses. Spatial practices are thus the concrete actions by individuals and groups that together structure and are structured by space. They have to do with material space, space that can be measured and divided, or what Lefebvre calls "perceived space" (i.e., space as the object of sense perception).

70. Landscape in the *Argonautika* has been well studied by Williams 1991. She shows how landscape descriptions are part of Apollonius's narrative technique, encompassing as they do important themes of the poem and implicitly commenting on character and action. Cusset 1998: 105–12 writes in a similar spirit. I see my spatial approach as complementary to this thematic perspective.

71. Lefebvre 1991. An excellent guide to Lefebvre's thought is Soja 1996: 26–82, as well as much in Soja 1989.

72. On the usefulness of this "triad," see Harvey 2006: 279–86, particularly his matrices that show how its elements can be articulated with the concepts of absolute, relative, and relational space. I have also been helped by the discussions of Merrifield 1993: 523–24 and Soja 1996: 65–70. For the description of the triad that follows, I have drawn on Lefebvre 1991: 33, 38–39.

2. *Representations of space* concern space as it is "conceived," that is, the absolute space of science and geometry. They include maps, diagrams, measurements, and so on: discursive constructions of space that secrete ideology. The conception of space they construct is the dominant one in a given society. Conceptions of space therefore link knowledge with power and control.
3. *Spaces of representation*[73] are space that is "lived" through the symbols that its users construct, and therefore especially space as relational. "Representational space is alive: it speaks. It has an affective kernel or center: Ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house; or: square, church, graveyard."[74] This sounds like "place" as it was discussed earlier.[75] It is the space of emotions, but also the space constructed by and constructing social relations. It is often subject to appropriation and domination by structures of power with their representations of space but it can also be the site of alternative practices and understandings, of resistance and new possibilities.[76]

For illustration, think back to the Argonauts gazing outward from Mount Dindymon. Their ascent, their act of viewing, and their material experience of the panorama, organized according to the body, make up their spatial practice in this episode. As they get their bearings, they construct a mental representation of space in the form of a "cognitive map" of the Propontis and its coasts from where they are standing to the Bosporos.[77] They are on the highest point of a peninsula that they have marked with enduring signs of their presence and its consequences (see chap. 4), and they are about to do something similar in connection with the cult of the Great Mother on this mountain. That is, they have transformed the peninsula of Kyzikos into a space of representation controlled by a Greek perspective—though with some complications—in anticipation of the Greek colony that will be established here.

73. The English translation gives the rather vague "representational space" for "les espaces de représentation."

74. Lefebvre 1991: 42.

75. Merrifield 1993.

76. Soja 1996 focuses especially on spaces of representation and on these possibilities for new forms of social action; they characterize what he describes as "thirdspace." This kind of openness is not visible in the *Argonautika*, and so I shall emphasize appropriation of spaces of representation, especially in connection with parts of the poem set at sites of Greek colonies. In this regard, Tilley, although he never cites Lefebvre, shows how the gap might be bridged between capitalist space as described by Lefebvre and the space of earlier cultures: "If the political qualities of a capitalist landscape relate to a dominant cultural construction of a 'useful,' disciplinary space of social control, pre-capitalist spaces are no less invested with forms of power, but within a qualitatively different landscape invested with mythological understandings and ritual knowledges intimately linked with bodily routines and practices" (1994: 22). Tilley's own classifications of space (16–17) can be correlated with Lefebvre's triad: his somatic space corresponds to spatial practices, his cognitive space to representations of space, and his perceptual, existential, and architectural space to spaces of representation.

77. On cognitive maps see Ellard 2009: 113–33, who emphasizes how, in forming such maps, the human mind simplifies, schematizes, and distorts, for useful purposes. The cognitive map is therefore a representation rather than a faithful reflection of space.

In the rest of this book, I use both Lefebvre's triad and the concepts of absolute, relative, and relational space. My argument can be formulated in terms of each, as follows.

Lefebvre is never clear about where a literary text might fit in his triad, although he does say that "conceptions of space tend, with certain exceptions . . ., towards a system of verbal (and therefore intellectually worked out) signs."[78] There is good reason, however, to consider a text containing a spatial narrative as a representation of space.[79] My argument, then, is that the *Argonautika* is a representation of space that portrays the Argonauts as constructing spaces of representation through their material spatial practices in the various places they visit, and as constructing the area outlined by their voyage—the *oikoumenê*—as a large space of representation shaped to a great extent by a controlling Greek point of view. Their stay at Kyzikos is an excellent example, but as I hope to persuade the reader the poem is pervaded by episodes that fall into the same pattern.

Or else: the Argonauts make a circuit of the absolute space of part of a Mediterranean-centered *oikoumenê* that could be, and had been, represented on maps, and much of which had been described for imperial purposes in, for example, Timosthenes' *On Harbors*.[80] By their movements through space, they connect various places and construct them as elements of a network that composes a Greek-centered space, often with overtones of political domination because prominent episodes are set in places destined to be the sites of Greek colonies. That is, from this point of view the narrative of the voyage depicts relative space. But this space implies notions of Hellenic history and identity that are especially relevant to Greeks' situation after Alexander's conquests. The poem thus offers its readers a relational understanding of the world.

Before discussion of particular episodes that construct these perspectives, the next chapter will outline the poem's general spatial and temporal framework.[81]

78. Lefebvre 1991: 39.

79. I find that Harvey 2006: 279–80 has a similar understanding of this question.

80. On Timosthenes see Fraser 1972: I, 522.

81. It may seem strange that I have not mentioned here a famous and more properly literary approach to space and time, Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope. I would say that the spatio-temporality of the *Argonautika* has much in common with the chronotope of the "adventure novel of everyday life" as Bakhtin describes it (1981: 111–29) and has moved away from that of epic. The advantage of this perspective is that it highlights Apollonius's daring innovations in the epic form. This is a line of thinking that I have chosen not to pursue here because I am interested in something much broader than the history of genres, but it would fit extremely well within the set of my concerns.

2

"The Long Pathways of the Sea"

Space and Time in the Argonautika

Spatiality in the *Argonautika*

At the heart of all conceptual and social dimensions of space is "spatial practice," the material, bodily, sensory experience of space and movement through it. In various ways, the *Argonautika* gives at least an impression of what the *Argo*'s voyage must have been like; for me at least, this is one of the great pleasures of reading the poem. This statement will surprise those who are accustomed to thinking of Apollonius as bookish and his poem as an "armchair epic."[1] But I have in mind not only the beautiful descriptions of sea and landmarks but also the incidents that convey the hardships and hazards of rowing a ship (or sailing it in favorable weather) up the Hellespont, through the Propontis and Bosporos, and along the southern coast of the Black Sea: the bravura description of forcing a passage through the Clashing Rocks (2.549–606), the storms (1.1015–18, 2.1097–1120), the huge wave that almost capsizes the *Argo* but for the skill of the helmsman Tiphys (2.169–76).[2]

Many other details rang true for Tim Severin when he and his crew sailed a reconstruction of the *Argo* from Volo (the ancient Iolkos) in Greece to Colchis in 1984—a distance of some 1,500 miles.[3] In

1. The title of Green 1988.

2. On the poem's vivid depiction of the realities of seafaring, see Rostropowicz 1990.

3. Severin 1985. His description of rowing up the Bosporos (133–39) is hair-raising; but he showed that it was possible to row a relatively small ship from the Aegean to the Black Sea by riding countercurrents created along the shores by the strong southerly flow of the water.

places Severin can be accused of excessive optimism in drawing connections between his experiences and the *Argonautika*, and between that text and the Bronze Age. But his book shows, I think, a core of authenticity in the poem. To give just one example, when Jason and his men leave Lemnos in the *Argonautika* they sail north to Samothrace and then south past the eastern tip of Imbros (modern Gokce) to the Dardanelles—a considerable detour. Deciding that Apollonius either had made a mistake or had sacrificed verisimilitude in order to include a stop at Samothrace and homage to the Kabeiroi, Severin tried the direct route south of Imbros, and soon learned the true reason. "A huge volume of water constantly gushes out of the mouth of the Dardanelles, creating head currents for a galley rowing up from the south."[4] It took several days of hard rowing to reach the Dardanelles; during one night, while the exhausted crew slept, the boat drifted back the entire distance it had gained during the previous day.

Obviously the narrative of the return voyage aims at less authenticity; and even in the first two books of the poem Apollonius is not striving for the systematic accuracy of a travelogue. He gives an impression of precision, however, with the same kind of care that, in the temporal register, enabled Vian to compile charts showing how many days each leg of the journey and each stop took.[5] This is an aspect of the poem that is too little appreciated. It does not show simply Apollonius's knowledge of geography, or his realism. These qualities themselves contribute to the poem's production of space, in a fundamental way. For as we have seen, the definition of space begins with the body's orientation in and experience of it. As a collective body finding their way through an immense and, to them, formless space, the Argonauts create a sense of direction that arises from somatic experience.

The sheer scope of the Argonauts' voyage, in Apollonius's narrative, reflects the *Argonautika*'s spatial ambitions (see map 1). Their itinerary stretches across the breadth of the world, he claims. When he first mentions Libya, in connection with the deaths of Kanthos and Mopsos, he describes its distance from Colchis (1.84–85):

> *τόσσον ἑκὰς Κόλχων ὅσσον τέ περ ἠελίοιο*
> *μεσσηγὺς δύσιές τε καὶ ἀντολαὶ εἰσορόωνται.*
>
> As great a distance from the Colchians as that seen
> between the settings and risings of the sun.

These lines reflect a synoptic view of space as distance to be measured and seen; the stress on sight produces a peculiar form of expression (I have translated according to the sense). This is a representation of space, in Lefebvre's term, and appropriately so, since the distance between Libya and Colchis is being equated to that between earth's eastern and western extremities. The text

4. Severin 1985: 102.
5. Vian and Delage 2002: I, 18, 117–18; III, 12–13.

does not say that Libya represents the far west;[6] that would normally be the Pillars of Herakles, as in Plato's *Phaedo* (109a-b), where the river Phasis in Colchis also indicates extreme east. Still, the careful symmetries that Apollonius constructs between Colchis and Libya encourage us to think of them as though they were cardinal opposites.[7] Tradition (as in Pindar's fourth Pythian ode) located part of the Argonauts' adventures in Libya, of course, but the reasons Apollonius made it the counterpart to Colchis probably had to do with the prominence of Cyrene as a Greek colony from the Archaic period on and with its importance to the Ptolemies. A cultural opposition—Greek Cyrene versus non-Greek (and, according to Herodotus, Egyptian) Colchis—overrides geography (the "true" location of the western limit of the world). So this representation of space is ideologically inflected.

The same holds for the center of the area traced by the *Argo*'s voyage as for its extremities. As we shall see in chapter 7, Apollonius combines several sources for the *Argo*'s return journey to construct an itinerary that encompasses the western Mediterranean from the mouth of the Rhone eastward. As a result, the voyage of the *Argo* as he recounts it, taken as a whole, describes an *oikoumenê* with mainland Greece as its center and territories that were to be colonized by Greeks after the Argonautic expedition at its periphery. If it is true that people usually view the world from a center outward, in this poem that spatial and cultural center is Greece.

As they sail, the Argonauts trace paths on the sea that mark out the space of their voyage and link places within it in a certain order, and in many places they leave signs of their presence that help organize those places in a new way. These two complementary activities create a Greek-centered space of representation. Their movement treats space as relative and produces the vast area they cover as relational space.

Right near the beginning, the poem announces as one of its themes "the long paths of the sea" (δολιχῆς . . . πόρους ἁλός 1.21).[8] The word πόροι, (*poroi*, "paths") occurs a number of times throughout the poem and is a key term in the poem's construction of space. Paths, as we have seen, give order to movement and organize space culturally by integrating places into a spatial system. We can appreciate this function of *poroi* in the poem by considering the significance of *poros* in Greek thought as Detienne and Vernant have described it.[9] In

6. *Contra* Mooney 1912: 74; Vian and Delage 2002: I, 54.

7. These are well known: in both places, a hero overcomes a huge serpent to take a valuable golden object from a tree, and Jason is helped by powerful females. Gift exchange is successful in Libya between Euphemos and Triton, whereas guest friendship fails between Jason and Aietes.

8. My translation takes δολιχῆς as describing "paths" in hypallage, following Vian and Delage, and in accord with its usual meaning, to refer to the length of objects, journeys and roads, and time. If this sense could be extended here so that it describes the word it grammatically modifies, "sea," the adjective would emphasize its vastness and so the need for paths. Somewhat inconsistently, Vian and Delage take δολιχῆς ἁλός at 4.586 as "de la mer immense."

9. Detienne and Vernant 1978: 140–62. Cf. Nagy 1979: 339–45.

Alcman's cosmogony, they argue, *Poros* personified played an important role in defining space:

> Into the darkness (*skotos*) of the sky and waters which were originally indistinguishable, he introduces differentiated paths which make it possible to discern upon the vault of heaven and the sea the various directions of space which provide orientation in an expanse originally pathless and without any point of reference.[10]

Poros is thus a principle of spatial orientation and as such is active in navigation. Of various Greek words for sea, the same authors say, πόντος (*pontos*) refers to the sea as the trackless expanse, without spatial coordinates, upon which *Poros* performs his work of spatialization, and upon which ships inscribe paths (*poroi*) that create a humanly intelligible space. Thus

> If the [*Argo*] is referred to as *pontoporos nêus* [i.e., in *Od.* 12.69] and a sister of Thetis, one of the Nereids, is called *Pontoporeia* [Hes. *Theog.* 256], the reason is that navigation on the high seas involving crossing the *Pontos* is, every time it is undertaken, a new adventure, an exploration of a virgin expanse, unmarked by any trace of men, a *poros* to be opened up and constantly replotted on the wide surface of the waters, just as if they had never been crossed before.[11]

The relationship between *pontos* and *poros* is inscribed on the region through which the Argonauts sail to the Black Sea. The Hellespont is "the *pontos* of Helle," the sister of Phrixos who fell into this sea and drowned in the antecedent to the Argonautic story. She fell victim to the untamed *pontos* and did not gain a *poros* or way through it.[12] The Bosporos, by contrast, "the cow's *poros*," is the place where Io found a way across the sea. The *Argo*'s difficult passage up the Bosporos stops the Cyanean Rocks (or Symplegades) from clashing together. They remain fixed, forever apart, and navigation is opened up once and for all from the Aegean to the Black Sea.[13] Although the production of space is a continuing process, as Vernant and Detienne indicate, and although this poem does not present the *Argo* as the first ship as other versions of the myth do, its journey is portrayed as paradeigmatic of the process of finding and opening up *poroi*.

Apollonius's usage of *pontos* and *poros* is consistent with the complex of ideas that Detienne and Vernant describe. First *pontos*. The beautiful passage

10. Detienne and Vernant 1978: 148.

11. Detienne and Vernant 1978: 152. Cf. Montiglio 2005:8.

12. Cf. Nagy 1979: 339–40. The Hellespont's name marks the danger of the *pontos* when it is not successfully brought under the control of human culture by *Poros*.

13. Cf. Hunter 2008a: 262: "The fixing of the Rocks by the Argo's passage is a powerful symbol of achievement; it marks the imposition of order and the creation of known space where before there was shifting and destructive disorder."

that describes the *Argo*'s departure from Pagasae (1.540–46) sets the significance of the entire voyage. To the accompaniment of Orpheus's song the Argonauts strike with their oars "the onrushing water of the *pontos*" (*πόντου λάβρον ὕδωρ*),[14] foam boils up on the surface of the sea, the armor gleams, and "continuously the long wake stretched white, like a footpath visible across a green plain" (*μακραὶ δ' αἰὲν ἐλευκαίνοντο κέλευθοι / ἀτραπὸς ὡς χλοεροῖο διειδομένη πεδίοιο*).[15] This tracing of a line on the trackless *pontos* is programmatic for the entire voyage. In other passages as well, *pontos* can be understood as a directionless waste. For example, when the sons of Phrixos are shipwrecked, Boreas goes at night upon the *pontos* and stirs up waves. Pitch darkness covers the sky, and no stars can be seen (2.1102–5). This is precisely the disorienting darkness and lack of directional reference associated with *pontos* according to Detienne and Vernant.[16] It also looks ahead to the Argonauts' similar predicament off the island of Anaphe in book 4 (see chap. 4). By contrast, the Argonauts have a rowing contest when "the windless *aithêr* calmed the currents and put the *pontos* to rest" (*ἀμφὶ γὰρ αἰθὴρ / νήνεμος ἐστόρεσεν δίνας, κατὰ δ' εὖνασε πόντον*, 2.1154–55). *Aithêr* implies light, which allows for spatial intelligibility.[17] The Greek name for the Black Sea, which of course Apollonius uses, is *Pontos*, and twice (2.548 and 984) it is the *Axeinos Pontos*, the "inhospitable *Pontos*."

Read against the background of earlier Greek thought and in its relation to *pontos* in particular, the word *poros* should be understood as a key term in the production of space within the poem. If a main theme of the *Argonautika* is "the long *poroi* of the sea" (1.21), and if the Argonauts' purpose in climbing Mount Dindymon is to see the *poroi* of the Propontis (1.986), it is because these pathways create a humanly intelligible sense of direction on a sea and in a world that have no inherent spatial order. That order must be culturally produced. In fact, the expression "the pathways of the sea" occurs four or five times in the poem in an almost formulaic way,[18] and given Apollonius's general

14. In the *Iliad*, the adjective *λαβρός*, "onrushing," denotes the overwhelming force of wind (2.148) and water (5.625; 16.385; 21.271). It thus gives an important characterization of *pontos* here, just as it is being inscribed with a metaphorical path. (In its only occurrence in the *Odyssey*, 15.293, the adjective describes a following wind sent by Athena—but a very strong one, though the usual menacing overtones are missing.) Apollonius's usage is similar: 2.173, 594; 3.343;4.944, 1243. The word describes fire at 3.1327.

15. On these lines see Clare 2002: 59–60, who makes the essential points. I would simply want to extend his statement that this simile implies that the *Argo*'s voyage "imposes order upon the sea" to include it in the more comprehensive notion of the construction of space. The word translated as "wake," *κέλευθοι*, literally means "paths, ways." Although in this context it may distantly evoke the Homeric phrase for the sea, "the watery ways," (*ὑγρὰ κέλευθα*), which may itself reflect the notion of *poros*, Apollonius does not use it in the marked and systematic way in which he uses *πόρος*.

16. Detienne and Vernant 1978: 152.

17. See also 3.744–46: sailors on the *pontos* at night look from their ships at Helike and Orion—indications of direction that help them find their way.

18. In addition to 1.21 and 1.986, see 1.361 and 4.1556. Cf. *πόρους . . . θαλάσσης* at 4.335. The word also occurs in a highly significant phrase for the Bosporos, *σκολιοῖο πόρου στειωπόν* (2.549), in the important *πόρους τ' ἀπετεκμαίροντο* (4.1538, discussed later), and at 2.982, for the channels of the Thermodon River. Cf. also 4.1546. In 4.586 it is difficult to decide between *πόνους* (Vian) and *πόρους* (Mooney, Fränkel); both are attested, but *πόνους* is *lectio difficilior*.

avoidance of repetition and care in its use,[19] this frequency stresses the importance of pathways. Thus in his diction Apollonius taps into ideas deeply rooted in Greek thinking about the world and gives the Argonautic production of space cosmological overtones. Within the narrative itself, if one bears in mind that from "pathway" *poros* comes to mean "way out" or "contrivance," Jason's and the other Argonauts' frequent spells of *ἀμηχανία*, "helplessness," in various crises are offset by their eventual success in finding a *poros* to Colchis and back home to Iolkos.

One final aspect of "pathways" links the spatiality of the *Argonautika* to early Greek poetics and to the unfolding of the narrative, so that the writing and reception of the poem (through performance or reading or both) are linked as closely as possible to the production of space within it. "Paths" can refer metapoetically to the narrative itself as well as to the Argonauts' course, in view of the spatial metaphor "paths of song" in archaic Greek epic (although the Greek word is different).[20] As many scholars have seen, Apollonius creates elaborate and sustained parallels between his narrative and the voyage of the *Argo*.[21] For example, not only does the poem begin with the word "beginning" (*ἀρχόμενος*);[22] it ends with a verb that names the Argonauts' final action in their voyage: *ἐἰσαπέβητε*, "you disembarked." Of course Apollonius in this way draws attention to the overarching order of his poem by likening it to the spatial order of the voyage and by depicting both as evolving simultaneously.[23] But the implications go beyond a self-reflexive poetics, the terms in which they are usually seen, to a more historicized poetics: the possibility that the poem itself, occupying its own space on papyrus rolls, is a physical token of the spatial order that it seeks to impose on the world in imagination. If the paths of its narrative are an analogue to the paths that the Argonauts inscribe on the sea, then it performs the same cultural work as it describes its heroes engaged in: the appropriation of space to Greek culture's meanings.

In addition, the poem as a system of verbal signs is a counterpart to the signs that the Argonauts leave behind them and that reconfigure the landscape of the places in which they stop. At a pivotal point, after the murder of Apsyrtos when a "homecoming without toil" seems assured to the Argonauts, who are now in the Adriatic sea, the narrator pauses to address the Muses (4.552–56):

19. Fantuzzi 2008, esp. 236, where he discusses *πόρους ἁλός* as initially an allusion to *Od*. 12.259 (it is *hapax* in Homer) but then as becoming "a kind of favorite internal formula for Apollonius."

20. Apollonius does use the feminine form of this word (*οἴμη*) once for the charm Medea uses on the serpent guarding the fleece, not a poetic performance (4.150). Elsewhere he uses the masculine (*οἶμος*) for "route, journey, path, street," all in book 4: 43, 296, 644, 838, 1510, 1541.

21. See especially Hunter 1993: 84, 120–21; Albis 1996: 43–66 (with discussion of *οἶμος* on 48–53); Wray 2000: 243–45; Clare 2002 passim.

22. Goldhill 1991: 287.

23. Cf. Clare's excellent formulation of this idea, 2002: 282–83: ". . . The precepts of order according to which space and movement in the *Argonautica* are arranged are coexistent and coextensive with the ordered structure of the poem itself and Apollonius' measured references to the poetic process. The motif of order in this epic applies not only to the poet's style of visualization, but also to his self-proclaimed techniques of poetic composition."

> Ἀλλά, θεαί, πῶς τῆσδε παρὲξ ἁλός, ἀμφί τε γαῖαν
> Αὐσονίην νήσους τε Λιγυστίδας, αἳ καλέονται
> Στοιχάδες, Ἀργῴης περιώσια σήματα νηὸς
> νημερτὲς πέφαται; Τίς ἀπόπροθι τόσσον ἀνάγκη
> καὶ χρειώ σφ' ἐκόμισσε; Τίνες σφέας ἤγαγον αὖραι;
>
> But, goddesses, how, beyond this [the Adriatic] sea, around the Ausonian
> Land and the Ligurian islands, which are called
> Stoichades, are the countless signs of the ship *Argo*
> spoken of[24] without error? What necessity and need
> took them so far away? What winds carried them?

Within this proleptic summary of the third part of the voyage, the phrase "signs of the ship *Argo*" stands out. The Argonauts leave on the landscape *signs* of their passage that will from now on evoke the narrative of their voyage—the fact that they passed this way, what they experienced in this place, and the entire story of their quest for the Golden Fleece. If "signs" also recall previous narratives—for example, in Apollonius's written sources, such as the history of Timaeus[25]—then the word further implies that he is working these into a large, systematic narrative. The *Argo* by its passage organizes space into a network of signs and transforms the landscape (which may indeed have been marked with other signs implying other meanings) into a new signifying system. Its voyage is a nautical, to de Certeau's pedestrian, speech-act.

One important way in which signs or *σήματα* are inscribed on the landscape in the *Argonautika* is in the form of tombs (also *σήματα*) "for those born later to see" (*καὶ ὀψιγόνοισιν ἰδέσθαι*, 1.1062, 2.842). This use of *σῆμα* for tomb is, of course, Homeric, although the latter phrase looks like a traditional formula but is not. At *Iliad* 7.86–91, Hektor imagines the tomb (*σῆμα*), overlooking the Hellespont, of a Greek he expects to kill in a duel so that someone "of later-born men" (*ὀψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων*—this is the Homeric formula) will say that it is the tomb of a man born long ago whom Hektor killed, and Hektor's fame (*κλέος*) will be increased. In Homer also tombs signify and inscribe narrative on the landscape, but this is a matter not of a spatial system but of individual glory—and not the glory of the man buried there, but of his killer. And Hektor never mentions the man of later times *seeing* the tomb,

24. My translation assumes that *πέφαται* is from *φημί* rather than from *φαίνω*, in which case it would mean "appear," although certainty is impossible. For the first meaning, see Mooney 1912 on 4.555 and 1.988; LSJ suppl. s.v. *φημί*. Fränkel 1968: 501, Livrea 1973: 172, and Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: III, 169 favor "appear," although Livrea allows for ambiguity. Morphologically, either meaning is possible, but Apollonius's usage elsewhere perhaps on balance favors a derivation from *φημί*: 1.988, 2.500, and 4.658. Here, "appear" would stress the visual qualities of these topographical markers of the Argo's passage and the way they physically construct a spatial pattern (cf. 2.853 and the Homeric *σήματα φαίνων*). "Are spoken of" suggests narratives that arise from these signs. It probably is best to keep both meanings in play.

25. In fact, Timaeus, at least in Diodorus's account of him, wrote of the "clear indications" (*ἐμφανῆ σημεῖα*) of the Argo's voyage, and Apollonius seems to have followed him as regards the Harbor of *Argo* on the island of Aithalie: Diod. 4.56.3 (FrGH 566 F86).

although that is of course implicit; his emphasis is on what that man will say. Apollonius's non-Homeric phrase emphasizes sight; it suggests that through the signifying function of the tomb narrative has a visual dimension. The tombs designated as *σήματα* in the *Argonautika* are all in the Propontis and along the coast of the Black Sea (besides the two mentioned above, the others are 2.853 and 4.1476). Three are tombs of companions the Argonauts have lost: Idmon, Tiphys, and Polyphemos.[26] They are permanent commemorations of the Argonautic voyage, stamping a Greek identity on this alien land. It is interesting that *σήματα* are missing from Colchis, where it is not lawful to heap them up (3.205); instead, the Colchians hang male corpses from trees and bury women in the ground. It is as though the sign-system that matters in this poem is Greek.

"Sign" (*σῆμα*) and the related verb *σημαίνειν*, "to give a sign, indicate, or point out," are connected with spatial order in other ways as well. As signs (*σήματα*) of Orpheus's songs that made them move, trees stand on the Thracian shore close together in rows, all in line (*ἐξείης στιχόωσιν ἐπήτριμοι*, 1.30)—an act of musical levitation that seems emblematic of the process of organizing space in the poem.[27] Divine agents show (*σημαίνειν*) mortals the proper way and so help them create intelligible pathways through space. Zeus stirs up Boreas to blow, "indicating [*σημαίνων*] with rain the wet arrival [*ὁδός*, literally "path" or "way"] of Arktouros" (2.1099)—a sign that is at once spatial and temporal, since the rising of Arktouros signals the beginning of autumn.[28] Apollo has promised Jason that he will "show and point out" (*σημανέειν δείξειν τε*) the paths (*πόροι*, 1.361) or "the accomplishment and ends of the journey" (1.414). The horse's tracks in the Libyan desert are to signal (*σημανέειν*) to the Argonauts the way to the sea (4.1378–79).

Whereas gods indicate through signs (*σημαίνειν*), mortals infer meanings (*τεκμαίρεσθαι*) or discover an indication (*τέκμαρ*, *τέκμωρ*) on the basis of which they can interpret the right way.[29] In usages connected with spatiality, these words emphasize the need for interpretation of various kinds of tokens by mortals in order to "find their way" and so produce an intelligible spatial

26. The fourth is the *σῆμα* of Kyzikos (1.1062), which memorializes Jason's killing his host in ignorance and unwittingly violating the Greek code of hospitality. The complexity of this and other incidents, and its implications for the portrayal of Hellenism in the poem, are discussed in chap. 4.

27. Cf. Clare 2002: 232–33 and Cusset 2004a: 36–37. The connection with Orpheus's song about the creation of cosmic order (1.496–511) seems especially strong.

28. Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: I, 119. This spatio-temporal marker contrasts strongly here with the effect of the north wind itself. By day it shakes the trees on the mountains; at night it moves over the sea and stirs up the waves that shipwreck the sons of Phrixos. It causes the disorienting darkness, with the stars blotted out by the clouds, that, as we saw earlier, is associated with *pontos*.

29. On *τέκμαρ* as "means to an end" and so as associated with the notion of "goal" or accomplishment," see Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: II, 125. Semantically, the word is thus closely related to *πόρος* as "way" or "contrivance." Cf. also Chantraine 1999: 1099–1100: from the basic meaning "mark" derive the senses "end" or goal" and then "sign obtained from the gods." Apollonius consistently associates the word with the perspective of mortals and the need for interpretation. See also Detienne and Vernant 1978: 148–51, with discussion of several of the passages in Apollonius cited here.

order. The sign of the horse's tracks comes in response to Jason's hope that the Argonauts collectively can find a *τέκμωρ . . . κομιδῆς*, an "indication of a safe return" (4.1335). Apollo can show the "paths" of the journey, but the Argonauts "tried to guess at the paths" (*πόρους ἀπετεκμαίροντο*) out of Lake Tritonis, without success (4.1538). As this phrase makes clear, one finds a *poros* by means of a *tekmar*, and indeed these two qualities, personified, are closely associated with each other in myth.[30] When the helmsman Tiphys is introduced in the catalogue of Argonauts, he is said to be good at inferring the route by sun and stars (*καὶ πλόον ἠελίῳ τε καὶ ἀστέρι τεκμήρασθαι*, 1.108).[31] In his cosmogonic song, Orpheus sings of how the stars have their "fixed position" (*ἔμπεδον . . . τέκμαρ*, 1.499; cf. Ariadne's crown, 3.1099) in the heaven. A cosmic spatial order is established on which mortals can rely in navigating on earth. Finally, the Colchians' ancestors "traced" (*διετεκμήροντο*: Mooney's translation) the course of the Istros river on the pillars (4.284). The literal meaning seems to be that they "marked it out" (as the gods marked out, and hence assigned, labor to mortals, Hesiod *W.D.* 398). But in the context of Apollonius's other uses of this word, there may also be further overtones. Just as the helmsman infers the proper course from signs in the sky, the Colchian ancestors inferred the course of the Istros and put it in its proper place. The verb, then, is an appropriate one for the drawing of a map, a schematic representation of actual geography.

Thus space is made to signify through the human work of finding pathways through it from place to place, sometimes with the help of signs and guidance from the gods and sometimes through mortals' own ability to deduce the right way. Discussing some of the occurrences of *σημαίνειν* in the poem, Clare comments, "throughout the *Argonautica* knowledge and perception of space are presented as issues of interpretation, a search for the correct sign of direction."[32] From this point of view, it is interesting that according to 4.454–55 the signs of the *Argo*'s passage in the west are spoken of *truly* (*νημερτές*). Characters within the narrative may be at the mercy of signs and interpretation, never sure that what they infer is accurate, but the narrator claims, whether on the basis of his own authority or that of the stories on which he draws, a clear and certain relation between these signs and their referent. At least in this passage, the production of space in the poem is presented as authoritative.

The *Argo* and Space

The *Argo* itself is so basic a part of the Argonauts' spatial practices that it is easy to overlook its significance. Any ship, says Foucault, is "a floating piece of

30. Detienne and Vernant 1978: 148–49 (citing this passage).

31. Cf. 2.412: by recommending the test of the dove, Phineus has given the Argonauts a "token" (*τέκμαρ*) by which they can get through the Symplegades.

32. Clare 2002: 50.

space."[33] The *Argo* is a piece of *Greek* space in which the major Greek heroes of their generation are at home, some of them the descendants of the major heroic lineages and the fathers of the heroes who besieged and captured Troy. The *Argo* is thus the vessel of Greek tradition. When the Argonauts are faced with a wide variety of non-Greek places and peoples, as they are throughout their journey, it is a privileged space and the center of their cultural identity, preserving Greek practices and values. With its talking keel-beam made of wood from Zeus's oak tree at Dodona, which enters the action at 4.580–91, the ship carries in itself a bit of Greek oracular cult and practice. The *Argo*'s significance is easiest to see in the most "ethnographic" or "Herodotean" part of the poem, when the Argonauts pass, in succession, the Chalybes, the Tibarenoi, and the Mossynoikoi (2.1002–29), and Greeks and non-Greeks define each other by their mutual differences. But it is present throughout the narrative as a locus of Hellenism in alien and sometimes hostile regions, emerging into special prominence at such times as when it serves as the Argonauts' base in Colchis (book 3), or when the Argonauts carry it across the Libyan desert as they find their way back to the navigable sea (book 4).

Just as important as its juxtaposition with foreign spaces, however, is the *Argo*'s relation to Greek culture, to which it serves as what Foucault called a *heterotopia*.[34] Heterotopias are countersites that all cultures create, special places set aside that bear a marked relation to a culture's dominant space: inversion of norms, control of deviancy, or direct analogy. Here is how Foucault describes the extremes in the ways heterotopias can function:

> Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned, as still more illusory. . . . Or else, on the contrary, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled. This latter type would be the heterotopia, not of illusion, but of compensation, and I wonder if certain colonies have not functioned somewhat in this manner.[35]

The last remark about colonies is suggestive to anyone familiar with Greek colonial practice, in which city walls were built, lots cast for equal shares of land among households, civic and sacred spaces demarcated—all of this usually

33. Foucault 1986: 27.

34. Foucault 1986. For discussion and elaboration of Foucault's ideas about space, see Soja 1989: 16–21 and especially 1996: 145–63, where he aligns heterotopias with Lefebvre's spaces of representation. In doing so, Soja emphasizes the openness of such spaces and their resistance to structures of authority. In applying the term to the *Argonautika*, my emphases will have to be different. Leontis 1995: 40–66 discusses Hellas, and particularly the Athenian Acropolis, as a heterotopia for nineteenth-century Europe, and this is suggestive for ways of thinking about mainland Greece, and especially Athens, in relation to the decentered Hellenistic world and for later periods of Greek antiquity such as the Second Sophistic.

35. Foucault 1986: 27

under the sanction and guidance of the Delphic oracle. The colonial city was modeled on the polis but unlike the polis, which grew more or less organically, was planned in essentials from the beginning. We might think of the *Argo* too as a "heterotopia of compensation," as a simplified but therefore clarifying version of Greek culture and society (as Foucault says, "the ship is the heterotopia *par excellence*"). Of course, it is fictional, unlike the real spaces Foucault has in mind, but I think that it functions for its Greek readers as an actual heterotopia does. Besides, the *Argonautika* was produced in the Mouseion and Library at Alexandria. The Library, with its meticulous accumulation, arrangement, and cataloguing of Greek and non-Greek texts, which amounted to an ordering of tradition and knowledge (and therefore an appropriation and mastering of them), and the Mouseion, in which new texts were produced that, through allusion and other devices, brought together and in a sense reordered the literary tradition—these formed a privileged countersite of immense cultural and ideological significance. The *Argo* can be seen, then, as an imaginative counterpart of the Library and Mouseion, confronting and appropriating alien space as Alexandria confronted and in some ways appropriated Egypt. The *Argonautika*, as book-roll, is (in the first instance at least) physically part of the heterotopic space of the Library and, as text, culturally a participant in its accumulative and ordering projects. Its literary production of space belongs to the process of cultural re-definition occasioned by Alexander's conquests and their consequences. As a heterotopia to Greek culture, then, the *Argo* performs an idealizing and affirmative role,[36] in part—especially when strong contrasts are suggested between Greeks and non-Greeks. In other ways, however, it helps open up questions that are part of the *Argonautika*'s probing of the limits of Hellenism. Even though the ship seems to be a bounded space, what is outside cannot be ignored or completely rejected. Boundaries themselves are open to question in this poem.

To conclude this section, let us look more closely than we have at the relation of the *Argo*'s voyage to the plot of the poem. Modern critics have extensively criticized what has seemed the poem's relentlessly linear and episodic plot: the narrative simply follows the *Argo*'s course from place to place.[37] The correspondence between narrative structure and story[38] in this text seems

36. Foucault is rather inconsistent about the possibility of heterotopias as affirmative in this way; he seems more interested in the ways they can expose the illusions or shortcomings of their host societies. But his description of traditional Persian gardens as microcosm, as "a rug onto which the whole world comes to enact its symbolic perfection" (1986: 25–26), for example, points in this direction. Harvey 2009: 159–61 reads the essay as suggesting that heterotopias are only subversive; his critique thus does not affect my use of the concept. It is not clear to me that this concept necessarily entails the Kantian view of "absolute entities in space" (Harvey 2009: 33).

37. For a defense of this linearity, see Cusset 1998: 97–101. I think, however, that the succession of places does more than give unity to the narrative and help to avoid monotony. And I would not agree that it makes the narrative a "simple poetic translation of a map of the world" ("une simple traduction poétique d'une carte du monde," 101).

38. In Genette's terms (1980: 27), "story" is the set of actions and events that are the content of a narrative, and "narrative" is the discourse by which the story is told. The *Odyssey*, with Odysseus's embedded tale of his wanderings, is exemplary of a text in which the structure of the narrative and the structure of the story differ. The *Argonautika* is at the other extreme.

unusually close, but it leads to positive advantages if we consider the spatial implications. Rubio emphasizes a temporal congruence between them as well. He sees the sequence of place names, "the recurrent geographical series," as the poem's "most important compositional device," so that "the progress of the journey . . . and the representation of the itinerary . . . evolve simultaneously, one echoing the other."[39] The poem gives us an impression of this simultaneity, but it is an illusion. There can actually, of course, be no text in which narrative completely coincides with story, as Genette points out; at most, the one tends toward the other.[40] What all narratives must have, by contrast, are "effects of rhythm"—"the alternation of non-dramatic summaries . . . with dramatic scenes whose role in the action is decisive."[41]

This rhythm is a very important feature of the narrative in the *Argonautika*. Lists of place names help create the narrative rhythm, but in alternation with pauses in certain places. This rhythm, in fact, imitates the relation between space as movement (the succession of names) and place as pause in movement and circulation—the rhythm, that is, of a journey. But the summary lists of place names are not mere filler between episodes. Place names also play an essential role in the cultural definition of space, because they refer to the history of a place and therefore signify its particular social meanings.[42] Changes of name or the conferring of a new name on a place to commemorate an act by the Argonauts, or even just their presence, will thus be fundamentally important for the appropriation of space. Names can refer not only to places of human habitation but also to natural features: mountains, headlands, rivers and springs. Names of such landmarks occur in lists of places the Argonauts pass and therefore figure in the cultural configuration of space (chap. 6).

Two important consequences flow from the poem's narrative rhythm. When the Argonauts pass by places and observe them without stopping, they are like tourists, measuring the other against what is familiar;[43] again, the sequence Chalybes-Tibarenoi-Mossynoikoi in book 2 is a good example. When they stop and permanently change a place's character by their actions, there is a direct appropriation of space, a Greek inflection of a place's identity. These are two different kinds of spatial experience, two modes of producing space. The second consequence is that the narrative is a schematic construct based on an imagined voyage that would have taken many more days to accomplish than it does to read the poem. A real voyage would have been filled with many trivial or nonessential incidents not mentioned in the narrative. In the same way, the representation of space in the poem is, like all such representations, a construct,

39. Rubio 1992: 41–45 (quotations from 45 and 44 respectively).

40. Genette 1980: 88.

41. Genette 1980: 88 and 110 respectively.

42. Cf. Tilley 1994: 18: "Place names are of such vital significance because they act so as to transform the sheerly physical and geographical into something that is historically and socially experienced."

43. Cf. Hartog 2001: 8.

always shaped by a particular perspective (or set of perspectives). But schemata such as this are one of the ways individuals and cultures experience space. Even though they can never be identical, the relation between the narrative and the voyage is rich in spatial implications.

Temporality in the *Argonautika*: Time-Space

To speak of the narrative's rhythm is to talk about time as well as about space.[44] In creating his spatial system by bringing places together as points on the *Argo*'s itinerary, Apollonius does not simply produce a synchronic map of the *oikoumenê* as a Hellenistic Greek might imagine it. Space, we recall, is a process as well as a set of relations, and a process implies time and history. As the voyage proceeds, Apollonius sets up a complex set of temporal relations, which is fused with the production of space in the poem.

In the first place, Apollonius locates the voyage of the *Argo* temporally within the heroic tradition, which, with its genealogical structure, the Greeks had always used to organize their understanding of their own and the world's history, as the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* shows. The Argonauts belong to the generation before the Trojan War—a point made unforgettably by the picture of the centaur Kheiron's wife holding the infant Achilles up to show him to his father Peleus, who is departing from Pagasae on board the *Argo* (1.557–58).[45] And so the expedition takes place not long after the disastrous end of Thetis's attempt to make Achilles immortal (4.866–79), and just a few years before the Calydonian Boar hunt, another great gathering of heroes from all over Greece; for the young Meleager has come along, although he is a year short of reaching his full strength (1.190–201), and also his maternal uncle Iphiklos, whom he will kill at the end of the hunt and so ensure his own death by his mother's contrivance. One effect of this temporal coordination is a sense of various stories converging on the Argonautic saga, just as the heroes converge on Iolkos in the catalogue of book 1 (chap. 3). Conversely, this narrative emerges as part of a larger story: the evolution of Greek culture.

That story in turn is set within a larger cosmogonic frame, of which Orpheus's song in book 1 (496–511) is the most prominent expression. Closely linked with this cosmogony is the account of Sesostris's conquests in book 4 (259–76), the forerunner of the *Argo*'s (and Alexander's) expedition. But the evolution of the world and of human culture is portrayed not as smooth, the same everywhere, but as discontinuous. After the Argonauts sail up the Hellespont, Apollonius creates a strong sense that they are entering a more primitive

44. On this spatial and temporal rhythm, see Paduano 1992: 164.

45. ". . . fourteen of the Argonauts are ancestors of heroes in the *Iliad*, a constant reminder of the chronological relationship between the Argo's voyage and the siege of Troy": Carspecken 1952: 44.

world, one still tormented by earth-born giants (Kyzikos), Harpies, birds with feathers as deadly as arrows like the Stymphalian birds killed by Herakles (island of Ares), and the earth-born warriors Jason must slay in Colchis. The eagle that passes overhead as the *Argo* approaches Colchis, on its way to its daily meal on Prometheus's liver, is a reminder of a time when Zeus's power was still being established and could be challenged. The return voyage, interestingly, does not give so sustained an impression of primitivism, but there are the threatening monsters familiar from Odysseus's story, as well as the Cattle of the Sun with their cosmological overtones. And perhaps most spectacular are the hybrid animals on Kirke's island, like the ones earth produced from Empedoclean slime before it was solidified by the sun's rays (4.672–81), as though a splinter of primeval time survived here. In Greece a remnant of the Hesiodic Bronze Age survives into the age of heroes: Talos, who hurls boulders at the *Argo* just as the Cyclops Polyphemos did to Odysseus's ship (4.1638–48). The *Argo* voyages in relational spacetime (Harvey's term), that realm of dreams and myths in which, we recall (chap. 1), relations produce their own time and space.

Time, then, is stratified; the Argonauts encounter remnants from various stages of the development of the world and of life in it. As Clauss has argued, the Argonautic expedition seems to take place in a transitional stage between a primitive and monstrous time and a more settled world familiar to the poem's readers.[46] Richard Hunter sees a similar layering of time and movement toward the present, recapitulated at the end of the voyage in the Talos episode, the primal darkness that follows it, and the anticipations of the birth of the island of Thera and the colonization of Cyrene. This evolutionary pattern, he suggests, is coordinate with the suggestions of the voyage as initiation, the progress of the Argonauts from youths to men.[47] But it is also tightly bound up with the production of space, as we see immediately in the location of these "progressive" episodes in Greece when the *Argo* has almost completed its long itinerary around the *oikoumenê*. More generally, the development of the world as the reader knows it takes place simultaneously with the shaping of space by the *Argo*'s voyage.

Balancing these references to events before and contemporary with the story's present time are narrative prolepses: anticipations of events that are to occur after the end of the *Argo*'s voyage. These are also abundant, such as the founding of Thera and Cyrene, and the Corinthians' colonization of Drepane/Corcyra. They suggest that the evolution of the world in time and space continued after the Argonauts' return home, that their expedition was indeed a transitional stage, but that subsequent events have a certain shape and coherence because of it. That is, the quest for the Golden Fleece set developments moving in the direction of a specifically Greek order in the world, which is essentially the shape of things familiar to Apollonius and his readers in the third century

46. Clauss 2000.
47. Hunter 1993: 167–68.

BCE. This teleological perspective has a close parallel in Strabo's *Geography* as Katherine Clarke has discussed it. In his many accounts of the histories of various cities, she argues, Strabo is interested mainly in critical points of change and development rather than in telling continuous stories. He sees these changes as moving collectively toward the unification of the world under Rome, whereby these cities will be related spatially to Rome as periphery to center. It is thus Rome that gives coherence to space and history at once.[48] The *Argonautika* implies a similar spatial and historical role for Greek imperial domination, although this role is portrayed in a more complicated way than this formulation would suggest.

The temporal structure of the narrative puts the reader into a complex relation to the text. On the one hand, the narrative's time, in which the main events take place and in relation to which recollections of earlier times and anticipations of later ones are ordered, is the one in which the reader is placed in imagination. On the other hand, the reader cannot help understanding those events in relation to his or her own time, and it is the present—the time of narration or the time of reading—that gives much of the story its significance. The reader—especially a Hellenistic reader, but a modern one too, I think—experiences the poem with a double focus: then and now. What is future from the perspective of the poem is the reader's past or present. Not only does the reader interpret episodes and themes of the poem in the light of later history; those things appear as beginning that history and tending toward its outcome in the Hellenistic present. There is a strong parallel here with Vergil's later treatment of time in the *Aeneid*, and in this respect, as in so many others, he may have taken his cue from Apollonius. The *Argonautika*'s construction of history works in tandem with its construction of space to produce a spatio-temporal configuration that embodies a Hellenistic Greek perspective on the world.

One feature of the poem in which the fusion of history and space is especially clear, and that is especially effective in giving the story its teleological cast, is the *aition*: a story of cause or origin. *Aitia* that motivate various religious and cultural practices or that simply explain how a place got its name abound in the poem and have been much discussed by scholars.[49] They provide continuity

48. Clarke 1999, chaps. 5 and 6.

49. Almost everyone who has written about Apollonius talks about *aitia*, but here is a representative sample: Carspecken 1952: 131–33 ("romantic antiquarianism"); Beye 1982: 103; Zanker 1987: 122–23; Paskiewicz 1988; Williams 1991: 185–203; Feeney 1991: 93–94; Cuypers 2004: 55–56 (in conjunction with deictics and the position constructed for the narratee). In the discussion that is perhaps most open to the complexity of *aitia* in the poem, Goldhill 1991: 321–33 shows how they involve the reader in the construction of knowledge about past and present and about the world, and at the same time subtly question the possibility of such knowledge. My own argument seeks to link *aitia* to the production of space in this text, which I see as a similarly self-questioning enterprise; but their significance is broader than this, as Goldhill's wide-ranging discussion suggests. Note also Hunter's comment on the relative paucity of internal narratives in the *Argonautika* (Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 119): "there is a sense in which aetiology, which binds the present to the past, has taken the place of epic stories, which rather accentuate the divide between the two." This would suggest a temporal reorganization in Apollonius's epic vis à vis Homer's, with a new teleological emphasis as I have discussed.

between past and present, it is often said, or alternatively they are a symptom of "romantic antiquarianism"; they reflect the Hellenistic taste for scientific explanation and offset the narrative's fantasy elements with a dose of realism to make the story credible; they are the tangible counterpart to verbal *kleos*. All these explanations are true to one extent or another, but *aitia* should also be understood in the context of the production of space, in which they play a crucial role. They "narrativize" space, giving it culturally significant features and a history through which it can be experienced. If a place name is shorthand for a narrative, an *aition* is that narrative. More than anything else in the poem, *aitia* show the creation of a space of representation, or the nature of place as a highly marked kind of space. *Aitia* are the hallmark of representational and relational space, because they show the formation of a place's significance that goes far beyond its geographical location or its position with regard to movement and flows of people or things.

Significance emerges whenever the Argonauts institute a cult by building an altar and sacrificing to a god under a particular divine epithet, or when in some other way they change the character of a landscape however slightly, or when the bestowal of a new name on a place commemorates some action of theirs or simply their passage through it. The *aition* encapsulates the *Argonautika*'s spatio-temporal structure, and conversely, we can understand the poem as a whole as an extended *aition* that describes the areas of the Argonauts' voyaging as relational space or a space of representation.[50] But of course *aitia* demarcate space in a particular—Greek—way; we might say that in this case spaces of representation are put in service of a representation of space. Susan Stephens, whose view of *aitia* is close to mine, puts the point well:

> Like those Greeks who settled in the eastern Mediterranean and in Sicily and South Italy in an earlier age, the Ptolemies were claiming new territories, and there was need, subconsciously or otherwise, to reconfigure them imaginatively in Greek terms. *Aition* is the epistemological category that accomplishes this, but in specific ways: the logic of the *aition* is to connect the new place with Greek myth, in a way that serves to efface the native and give the intruding Greek population (or colonizers) continuous claim to the place, to create the illusion in other words not of intrusion, but of return.[51]

Aitia, of course, are a conspicuous characteristic of Hellenistic literature generally, and so could be thought unremarkable in the *Argonautika*, simply one more example of Alexandrian antiquarian learning. Perhaps it is enough to

50. Cf. Clauss 2000: 25: "It might be said the evolution from creation to the world as those in the third century BC would have known it is the most sweeping aetiology of the poem."

51. Stephens 2003: 188 (= Stephens 2000: 208). Stephens goes on to say that in some *aitia* Apollonius also acknowledges competing claims to places and rituals—a crucial point.

say that even highly conventional elements can take on marked significance in a specific context, and I would make this claim for *aitia* in the *Argonautika*. But I would also suggest that whatever else they do in Hellenistic literature as a whole—and they no doubt have multiple significances—the interest in *aitia* reflects a concern with an historico-spatiality under the particular conditions of the Hellenistic period, and that other texts might fruitfully be studied with this possibility in mind (chap. 8).

Other Journeys

Although it seems to throw open to Greek settlement and control the vast and until now untamed Black Sea region, the *Argo*'s voyage is not the first to these parts. It had two forerunners, or prototypes, that are mentioned in the narrative for rather different reasons. The story of Phrixos by and large underscores the significance with which the poem invests the Argonauts' exploits; the conquests of Sesostris show them in a more ambivalent light.

As mentioned earlier, Phrixos's sister Helle, who drowns in the Hellespont, falls victim to the disorderly *pontos* that the Argonauts overcome. Her brother rides the miraculous ram all the way to Colchis along the exact route that his kinsman Jason will later follow, blazing the trail for him, so to speak. This anticipation of the Argonauts' voyage may seem to drain it of importance. How can it be foundational of anything, or claim to have extended the reach of Greek civilization and bring uncharted space under its control, when someone was there before them? There are, however, differences that tend to reinforce that claim.

Phrixos's journey was solitary; the Argonauts' enterprise is communal. He was fleeing for his life (his father intended to sacrifice Helle and him to Zeus), whereas they are pursuing a positive goal. Above all, with one possible minor exception (2.652–54), he left no mark of his passing on the landscape. He moved through space and left it as it was. The Argonauts actively produce space, in the ways and with all the cultural significance I have described. The narrative gives no hint that he encountered difficulties or any incidents at all aside from that one exception. His passage was not much different from Aietes' journey to the west in the chariot of Helios. In the narrative of the Argonauts' voyage, that space is filled with a rich assortment of places and peoples, and their experiences of both hardship and hospitality alter the course of history in those places and define this space from a Greek perspective. They travel not on a talking ram with a golden fleece but on a ship built by human craftsmanship under Athena's direction, and with a talking keel. Phrixos's story remains in the realm of the fabulous. The *Argo*'s passage marks the transition between the fabulous and the humanly familiar, and systematically demarcates space. Phrixos stayed in Colchis, with the fleece. The Argonauts recover the Golden

Fleece, which seems, among other things, a symbol of sovereignty,[52] and bring it back to Greece, where the narrative seems to assume it properly belongs. The refugee Phrixos found a new center for his life in non-Greek Colchis. The Argonauts reverse the effect of his flight by bringing back the fleece and so reclaim Greece as the center. This contrast is repeated in the narrative when Phrixos's sons are shipwrecked and fail in their attempt to go to Greece and bring Phrixos's wealth to Colchis. The Argonauts' success and their failure mean that precious objects belong in Greece, not in Colchis, which, from a Greek perspective, is on the periphery.[53]

These differences can also be seen from the perspective of Greek colonization. Phrixos's solitary penetration of the Black Sea might reflect the experience of pre-colonial Greek visitors there. The Argonauts' voyage would then suggest the sustained exploration that led to colonies; Apollonius portrays it as laying the foundation of Greek colonization (chap. 4). More generally, both stories conform to patterns of colonial narratives. Phrixos's reception in Colchis—Aietes gives him hospitality and then marries him to his daughter Khalkiope—might suggest a proto-colonial narrative of the kindly reception of colonists by an indigenous people and peaceful intermarriage. In fact, David Braund has described the Phrixos and Argonautic myths as reflecting the colonial experience and as offering a means of negotiating between Greek colonists and the local inhabitants by teaching the need for cooperation.[54] Even so, they still reflect essentially a Hellenocentric point of view. At the same time, intermarriage between Phrixos and Khalkiope might also loosen the distinction between Greek and non-Greek, open ethnic identities to question; and this too may well reflect actual colonial experience.[55]

If the story of Phrixos raises the subject of colonization that is so prominent in the *Argonautika*, the tale of Sesostris (4.257–93) involves conquest, which, although not at the center of the poem's treatment of space, was surely of interest

52. See especially Newman 2008, who emphasizes the Golden Fleece's symbolic importance in justifying imperial domination. In Greek myth, there is a close parallel to the fleece as symbol of sovereignty in the golden ram whose theft by Thyestes from Atreus was part of the series of intradynastic crimes in the family of the Pelopidae, and caused Zeus to reverse the sun's course—a fundamental reorganization of space. See Eur. *El.* 698–746 and *I.T.* 191–202, 811–17. Gernet (1981: 93–101) suggestively discusses the convergence in these golden talismans of the themes of wealth (in the form of livestock and precious metals), control over the elements (note Aietes' participation in his father Helios's power), and sovereignty. See also Braund 1994: 23. In the wake of Alexander's looting the Persian treasury of fabulous amounts of gold (Green 1990: 5, 157; Sutherland 1969: 171), the Ptolemies may have used it ostentatiously as a symbol of their sovereignty, as in Philadelphus's grand procession (Athen. 197c–203b; Green 1990: 160).

53. Vasileva 1998: 72–74 discusses the connection between gold and ideas of space: in the mythic imagination it marks boundaries between the underworld and the world of the living, and between known and unknown spaces, and was therefore important for thinking about the Black Sea area. "Amonster or a fantastic figure guarding either gold or a gold object was typical of the Greek model of the boundaries of the unknown space: the golden Apples of the Hesperides, the Golden Fleece" (73). Gaining that gold object thus meant mastering that space.

54. Braund 1994: 21–22, 32.

55. Cf. Braund 1994: 38–39; Stephens 2003: 191–92.

in Ptolemaic Egypt. It also implicitly raises the question of relations between Egyptians and Greeks. Phrixos's son Argos tells the Argonauts the story, which is adapted from Herodotus (2.102–6), to explain the source of the apparent map inscribed on pillars and preserved by the Colchians, which must be Apollonius's invention.[56] The pillars thus preserve knowledge that ultimately derives from Egypt through the Colchians, who, according to Herodotus, were themselves descended from the Egyptian conquerors under Sesostris.[57] With his combined Colchian and Greek ancestry, Argos is an appropriate intermediary for the transmission of Egyptian knowledge. His words complete the process of transmission that began with the Egyptians passing their knowledge to the Colchians. The Greek Argonauts are in this sense the heirs of Sesostris, and not simply because of their reception of information. Because Sesostris derived his knowledge from conquest, the pillars perfectly illustrate the connection between power and spatial knowledge, here in the form of a representation of space (a map or an abstract verbal description) that, as Lefebvre says, is often an instrument and basis of power.[58] The implication, then, may be that Greek hegemony will succeed the Egyptian.

Argos's story places Sesostris at a primordial stage in the development of the cosmos and of human culture (4.261–71), and this is a significant departure from the Herodotean model. There were not yet constellations (*τείρεα*), those signs of direction by which humans orient themselves in space. The race of the Danaoi, the descendants of Danaos, was not yet heard of (the name implicitly links Egypt and Greece),[59] the descendants of Deukalion did not yet rule in Thessaly, and only the Arkadians, who "are said to have lived before the moon" (another sign that the cosmos was still developing), lived in Greece. They fed on acorns; so when human culture in Greece (what there was of it) was at a very primitive stage, the Egyptians were advanced enough to engage in conquest and city building.[60] Egypt is "the mother of earlier-born men" (*μήτηρ . . . προτερηγενέων αἰζηῶν*, 4.268), and did not even have that name. It was called Eërie, "the place of mist." Perhaps this name implies that others could have only dim knowledge of this land, so that the perspective on Egypt even here is

56. This is true even though the map itself has another Herodotean model, the map of Aristagoras (5.49.1). See Clare 2002: 129–30.

57. Hdt. 2.104. Apollonius indicates only that the Colchians' city Aia was one of the cities that Sesostris founded. This can imply Egyptian descent, although it does not have to.

58. In Apollonius's version, these pillars replace and are the counterpart of the pillars that according to Herodotus Sesostris set up to mark his conquests. The description of the Colchian pillars makes them a clear example of a representation of space. On them are represented "all routes and boundaries of wet and dry" (*πᾶσαι ὁδοὶ καὶ πείρατ' . . . ὑγρῆς καὶ τραφερῆς*, 4.280–81). The phrase "routes and boundaries" is an excellent description of culturally produced space. On the importance of boundaries (particularly that between land and sea) to spatial understanding, see Purves 2006b, especially 4–8. "Wet and dry" is a polar expression that means "the whole world" in Homer, where it often describes the vast area over which the gods are privileged to travel (*Il.* 14.308, 24.341; *Od.* 1.97, 5.45). Odysseus is also said to travel over "wet and dry" (*Od.* 20.98) but for a mortal that is an affliction. At *Arg.* 2.545 the phrase occurs in connection with a synoptic view of space.

59. Stephens 2003: 190.

60. Cf. again Stephens 2003: 190.

from the outside (i.e., Greek). But it also, I think, suggests a lack of spatial orientation at this early time.[61] Other names associated with Egypt in this speech may also emphasize the priority of Egyptian to Greek culture: Thebes and Triton.[62] The latter, as the allegedly early name for the Nile, suggests a link with Cyrene, which is still a desert when the Argonauts meet the god Triton on the shore of Lake Tritonis but later is to be the site of an important Greek city. The eventual Cyrene is thus in the condition that Egypt was in when Sesostris ruled; the Argonauts are to Cyrene as Sesostris was to Egypt, organizers of space in a way that advances human culture. Argos's statement that "at that time the Pelasgian land [i.e., Thessaly] was not ruled by the famed descendants of Deukalion" (4.265–66) explicitly contradicts the claim that Jason has made to Medea before this point, that Deukalion was first to build cities and temples to the gods and was first to rule over mortals (3.1088–89). He may have been the first to establish city-culture *in Greece*, and Jason's account may be true as far as the Greeks know; but there is a wider world about which Jason is learning through his voyage, and in this broader temporal and spatial context Greece does not seem the originator or the unique possessor of human civilization. If the first line of the poem names the Argonauts as "men born long ago" (*παλαιγενέων . . . φωτῶν*), Egypt is the mother of "earlier-born men" (cited previously) and so the Argonauts' precursors.[63]

The passage thus reflects the ambivalence in Greek thinking about Egypt as both a barbarian land and home to a culture much older than the Greeks' own, one to which Greek civilization was indebted in important ways. This attitude is, of course, expressed most prominently in Apollonius's Herodotean model. But the conquests of Sesostris also have significant spatial implications in both Herodotus and Apollonius.

Herodotus's account of Sesostris emphasizes conquest:

> *ὁτέοισι μέν νυν αὐτῶν ἀλκίμοισι ἐνετύγχανε καὶ δεινῶς γλιχομένοισι [περὶ] τῆς ἐλευθερίης, τούτοισι μὲν στήλας ἐνίστη ἐς τὰς χώρας διὰ γραμμάτων λεγούσας τό τε ἑωυτοῦ οὔνομα καὶ τῆς πάτρης καὶ ὡς δυνάμι τῇ ἑωυτοῦ κατεστρέψατο σφέας· ὅτεων δὲ ἀμαχητὶ καὶ εὐπετέως παρέλαβε τὰς πόλιας, τούτοισι δὲ ἐνέγραφε ἐν τῇσι στήλῃσι κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ τοῖσι ἀνδρηίοισι τῶν ἐθνέων*

61. Cf. 4.1239, discussed in chap. 4. The name can also mean "the place of morning," among other possibilities. For discussion see Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: III, 157, who favors "place of mist" and suggests that it refers to the humid atmosphere of the Nile Valley, and Livrea 1973: 90–91. The interpretation I suggest can thus only be tentative. But I think the name can bear it in this context, even though it is not original to Apollonius (cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 75).

62. But see also Stephens's discussion of these doublets as a typical feature of "aetological writing" especially associated with colonization that may point toward the Ptolemaic regime in Egypt or, alternatively, as a mark of the fluidity of cultural and geographical definitions in Apollonius (2003: 190 and 208 respectively).

63. Note that these two adjectives in the genitive case and of similar sound occur in the same slot in the hexameter. On the rarity of *παλαιγενέων* and Callimachus's use of it, see Stephens 2003: 208.

> *γενομένοισι καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσενέγραφε, δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιέειν ὡς εἴησαν ἀνάλκιδες.*
>
> Whoever of [the peoples he conquered] he encountered were war-like and struggled fiercely for their freedom, he set up in their lands pillars with inscriptions giving his name and country and proclaiming that he subdued them by his own power. But in the case of those whose cities he took easily and without a fight, he carved the same inscriptions on pillars as for the manly peoples but carved in addition pictures of a woman's genitals, wishing to brand them as effeminate. (Hdt. 2.102.4–5)

These pillars function as signs on the landscape, even though Herodotus does not explicitly describe them as such. They commemorate Sesostris's military achievement and they characterize as effeminate the less warlike of the peoples he subjugated. They organize space as a network of cities (*πολίας* in the quotation) dominated by Sesostris. Herodotus "reads" these pillars in precisely this way:

> *ἐς τούτους δέ μοι δοκέει καὶ προσώτατα ἀπίκεσθαι ὁ Αἰγύπτιος στρατός. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ τούτων χώρῃ φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι [αἱ] στῆλαι, τὸ δὲ προσωτέρω τούτων οὐκέτι.*
>
> I think that the Egyptian army went as far as these peoples [Skythians and Thracians] and no farther. For pillars are visible standing in their territory but they are no longer to be seen beyond them. (Hdt. 2.103.1)

According to Herodotus, Sesostris conquered existing cities. There is no word of his having built any, except insofar as the possibility that he deliberately settled part of his army in Colchis (2.103.2) implies such a foundation.

Apollonius also makes it clear that Sesostris proceeded by conquest: he "made his way all around, throughout Europe and Asia, trusting in the might, force, and courage of his people" (*βίῃ καὶ κάρτεϊ λαῶν / σφωιτέρων θάρσει τε πεποιθότα*, 4.273–74). But what he emphasizes is city building (4.274–76):

> *μυρία δ' ἄστη*
> *νάσσατ' ἐποιχόμενος, τὰ μὲν ἤ ποθι ναιετάουσιν*
> *ἠὲ καὶ οὔ· πουλὺς γὰρ ἄδην ἐπενήνοθεν αἰών.*
> *Αἶά γε μὴν ἔτι νῦν μένει ἔμπεδον. . . .*
>
> In his march
> he settled countless cities, whether the rest are still inhabited
> or not: for time has been heaped up in great quantity.
> But Aia still remains established. . . .

The cities themselves are the signs of his progress from Egypt through Asia and Europe, and Sesostris is thus the paradigm not just of imperial acquisition but more importantly of the dissemination of civilization. Or, in different terms, his journey is an archetype of the production of space through the imprinting of human culture on a pristine world that lacked it. As others have noticed, Argos's account of Sesostris supplements Orpheus's song on the evolution of the cosmos in Book 1 (496–511).[64] His civilizing mission parallels and completes the evolution of cosmic order that in Orpheus's song began with the separation of elements, the coming to be of heavenly signs, and the creation of an orderly divine society through generational struggles over succession. As with the development of the cosmos, Sesostris's civilizing achievement is to organize space in a humanly intelligible way.

The implications for the Argonautic mission of this prototypical expedition of conquest are twofold. On the one hand, by renewing a spatial construction that has decayed to such an extent that Argos is not sure how many cities Sesostris founded still exist (and by doing so, in the end, on a much larger scale), the Argonauts are continuing the work of human culture that has been portrayed as an element of the cosmogonic process. Because Sesostris's conquests obviously evoke Alexander's,[65] and because many of the Argonauts' actions, particularly in the Black Sea region, look forward to Greek colonization and this colonization in turn can be read as setting the pattern for Greek imperial domination, the story of Sesostris naturalizes empire and with it Ptolemaic rule in Egypt as part of the development of the world. In addition, if human history is to be seen as a succession of empires—a view that the story of Sesostris encourages—Greek domination now replaces an obsolete Egyptian sovereignty; the implications for the position of the Ptolemies in Egypt are hard to miss. On the other hand, the logic of the succession of empires, if pressed, means that Greek rule too will end. The *aitia* in the poem may construct a past that points to the Ptolemaic empire as the outcome of historical developments, but history does not end with the Ptolemies. In addition, the Argonauts' expedition can appear not as renewal and as a surpassing of the earlier one, but as a mere belated imitation of Sesotris's grand civilizing mission. In this light his story would undermine rather than validate Greek sovereignty. Alan Lloyd has argued that Egyptians (probably priests) used the story of Sesostris as a means of resistance to the Ptolemaic regime through "nationalist propaganda."[66] The possible interpretations of the example offered by Sesostris thus reproduce the Greeks' traditionally ambivalent attitudes toward Egypt.

If the story of Sesostris functioned in the early Ptolemaic period as a paradigm within which divergent views of Greek dominance were reflected in competing

64. See, for example, Clare 2002: 127.
65. See, e.g., Clare 2002: 128; Stephens 2003: 189.
66. Lloyd 1982: 37–40.

interpretations, by incorporating it in his poem as an archetype for his heroes' achievements Apollonius may have tried to appropriate it as a vehicle for a Greek viewpoint—without completely controlling its possible implications. Or Argos's speech could be an example of the openness that Susan Stephens finds in this text to both Egyptian and Greek perspectives. Whatever one wishes to make of those possibilities, this story exemplifies a pattern we shall see often in the poem of simultaneous affirmation and questioning of Hellenism and empire. In this light, the passage can stand as an example of the complex and far-reaching implications of the *Argonautika*'s construction of space.

Herakles and Spatial Disorder

I began chapter 1 by discussing views of space that contrasted with, and thereby helped to define, the Argonauts' spatial experience in most of the poem. I end this chapter with another and more prominent contrast that serves a similar purpose. Herakles' use of space is the exact opposite of the Argonauts' production of it.

This opposition emerges clearly when Herakles leaves the narrative, inadvertently left behind at Kios by the Argonauts as he is searching for his companion Hylas. The episode as a whole (1.1172–1283) is marked by spatial disorientation and (at key points) confusion. It thus stands in the sharpest possible contrast to the episode at Kyzikos, where space is delineated clearly, in large part through a piling up of *aitia* (see chap. 4), and where Herakles' role, significantly, is limited to doing what he so often does: killing monsters, the earth-born giants or Gegeneis.

When Hylas goes to fetch water, he seems to have a direction and a goal; but it is a spring to which those living in the neighboring fields give the highly generic name Πηγαί, "Fountains" (1.1221–22). He enters a landscape inhabited by nymphs of mountain peaks and caves, of forests, and of this spring (1.1226–29). This is pre-cultural space, a landscape unmarked by human practice, which would organize it socially, politically, and, through narrative, historically. Herakles does not transform it; instead, this episode is full of wandering. When Herakles enters this landscape, he "wanders" in search of a tree to use for a new oar (ἀλαλήμενος 1.1190), and where he finds it is left indefinite. For the sake of Hylas, Herakles and Polyphemos are left behind, having "strayed off" (ἀποπλαγχθέντες, 1.1325); the root word, without the prefix, was the term of choice in epic for being driven off course since the opening of the *Odyssey*. Even the narrator almost succumbs to the temptation to stray from the narrative path and follow the story of Hylas's earlier history (ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τηλοῦ κεν ἀποπλάγξειεν ἀοιδῆς: "but these things would drive me far off the course of my song," 1.1220). Hearing Hylas's cries as the love-struck nymph pulls him into the water, Polyphemos rushes in the direction of the

spring, like a wild animal that has heard the bleating of flocks and rushes toward its prey but is frustrated of it (1.1243–47), and meets—Herakles. He, significantly, is on his way back to the ship—his last movement in the poem with a definite goal—but then goes rushing in search of Hylas, like a bull stung by a gadfly, on a frantically random path (1.1265–72).[67] The spatial confusion here is paralleled by the inarticulate sounds, all compared to animal noises: Hylas's cry for help, like the bleating of sheep (1.1240–44), Polyphemos's groan when he hears it, like that of the frustrated wild beast (1.1248–49), and Herakles' bellow, like that of the tormented bull (1.1270–72). These cries cannot be interpreted, any more than the space here can be, and in it humans regress to the level of animals.

And that is the last the Argonauts see of Herakles, until that haunting moment in the Libyan desert, when Lynkeus sees him from a vast distance, striding on to complete his labors, dimly seen as a new moon is barely made out through a cloud (4.1477–80). This later scene is likewise a case of missed or interrupted contact. It reminds us that other itineraries are being followed and other processes of development are at work simultaneously with the *Argo*'s voyage. Herakles was never intended for this voyage, as Glaukos tells the Argonauts (1.1315–20).[68] As Clare says, he has spent the trip up to the Hylas episode being left behind with the ship, at Lemnos and Kyzikos; now he is left behind by it.[69] Apollonius almost playfully makes clear his lack of fit in the narrative by asserting that Hera nurtured the Gegeneis as a labor for Herakles and so drawing attention to the way his story is spliced into that of the *Argo*. Although the Argonauts encounter traces of his presence several times after this point, these reminders, along with the Hylas episode and the near-meeting in Libya, only emphasize that Herakles passes through space differently from the Argonauts. His movements are sometimes random and always far less structured. They are always uneconomical because they are repetitive (as we are often reminded, this is the second time he has been in the Black Sea area), even though he travels toward certain goals (especially the garden of the Hesperides, soon to be followed by his apotheosis).

What this contrast reveals is a difference in approaches to space. Herakles *moves through* space. He brings about very little change in it and does not alter the relationships between places. What he does is kill monsters. In this way he prepares the way for human culture, but he does not himself engage in cultural activity. But that is precisely what the Argonauts do in their voyage with their production of space. The latter has its ambivalent aspects, as we have seen,

67. For fuller discussion of the complex "choreography" of the movements in this scene, see Clare 2002: 91–95.

68. Pietsch 1999: 133–37 suggests that Apollonius's portrayal of Herakles' part in the voyage—prominent but taking second place to Jason's role—represents a middle course between earlier versions in which he was absent and those in which he dominated.

69. Clare 2002: 89–90.

whereas Herakles' killing of the Gegeneis is presented as unproblematic, but the Argonauts' work is essential in completing the work Herakles begins—completing it in a human but specifically Greek way. They configure space culturally. Herakles becomes a god, and gods, as we saw earlier, do not need so articulated a space. The Argonauts follow a very clearly defined itinerary; Herakles is ubiquitous, and nowhere in particular.[70]

One of the ways this difference is expressed is through the opposition between the coast and inland. The shore is a system of well-defined places, especially after the Argonauts have passed through, whereas inland areas tend to be less well known and less knowable, mysterious places where one can lose direction and confusions can arise (chap. 6). Their character is very clear in the description of the Libyan desert, for instance, and in other passages in book 4. In the present episode the difference appears in the disparity between the text's geographical precision about where Herakles broke his oar (1.1164–68) and the indefiniteness of the landscape in which Hylas is lost, or in the contrast between Herakles' purposeful although forestalled movement to the *Argo* at the shore and his frantic, directionless search for Hylas.

Not only does Herakles get lost and not only is he hard to locate in space, but it is, within the terms of this poem, difficult to place him in time. If Prometheus is still in agony in the Caucasus Mountains when the Argonauts arrive in Colchis, when did Herakles set him free and kill the eagle that tormented him? Did he make a third trip to the Black Sea? When was he on the island of Tenos in the Cyclades when he killed the Boreads to avenge their preventing Telamon from forcing a return to Kios to retrieve him (1.1302–1308)? This had to be after the *Argo*'s return to Iolkos and his exploit of the Apples of the Hesperides, because the Boreads were returning from Pelias's funeral. Did he settle the Mysian hostages in Trachis (1.1356–57) on his way to Libya? If he is near his apotheosis after obtaining the apples of the Hesperides, when is there time for all this other activity? How can he have fathered a son whose growth to maturity, founding of a colony, and death are now in the past—occurred, in fact, in the time of Alkinoos's father Nausithoos (4.537–51)? It is very difficult to imagine that Apollonius was being careless about the timing of events in Herakles' career when he was so meticulous about chronology in other respects. The temporal disorientation works along with the lack of spatial definition.

The episode at Kios has a few *aitia*, but they are not typical of other *aitia* in the poem. The landscape will be slightly altered when Polyphemos builds a city

70. Cf. Stephens 2003: 185–87, on Herakles as inhabiting a different "conceptual frame" from the Argonauts, one that reflects a pre-polis world in which his task is to kill monsters so that the work of creating and spreading civilization may proceed, and in which there is no ambiguity between friend and foe. This difference is reflected in the spatial contrast I have described. Feeney 1986: 64–66 well discusses Herakles' lack of attachment to place or to other people as due to his combining characteristics of beast and god. On Herakles as representative of an archaic past, see Beye 1982: 53–56 (cf. Beye 1969: 47). Lawall 1966: 123–31 discusses Herakles as a "foil" to Jason and the other Argonauts, an idea developed by DeForest 1994: 47–69 (but with overblown arguments).

for the Mysians (1.1321–23); but we are not told its name or anything else about it (although we are clearly intended to think of it as a forerunner of the later Greek colony of Kios). The other change effected here has to do with instituting a local custom, although it does look forward to Greek settlement. Herakles so terrified the Mysians that to this day the inhabitants of Kios search for Hylas, and they are concerned about Trachis because that is where Herakles settled the Mysian hostages (1.1354–57). The two monuments that are connected with places are not here but elsewhere: the stelai commemorating the Boreads on Tenos (1.1304–8), and the tomb (*σῆμα*) of Polyphemos, who dies not at Kios but in the land of the Chalybes—on the coast, for this city builder contrasts in his own way with Herakles. These dislocations are in accordance with the spatial confusion at the center of this episode, and a symptom of it. They have their narrative counterpart: we are given the information about Polyphemos's tomb not in book 1 but only in book 4 (1475–77).

Conclusion

Guided by signs (*σήματα*) from the gods and tokens such as constellations in the night sky that allow them to infer direction (*τεκμαίρεσθαι*), the Argonauts appropriate space culturally and give it a determinate order by navigating pathways (*πόροι*) between places, which they bring into relation with one another as parts of a wider system. Their voyage overcomes the localism of places, which compose a larger space in their interrelations.

In the single previous discussion of spatiality in the *Argonautika*, Santiago Rubio argues persuasively that it reflects the dominant modes in which Greeks of the Hellenistic period organized knowledge and represented the structure of society: continuity and hierarchy. He concludes that the chronological and spatial structure of the poem justified Greek domination of foreign peoples and lands.[71] There is little in this argument with which I would disagree, but I think it describes only a part—if a prominent part—of the complex effects of spatiality in the poem. The construction of space in Greek terms surely has as one of its effects the legitimation of conquest and empire, but everywhere in the poem are elements that qualify or complicate this straightforward reading.[72] Many of these are well known: the weaknesses or indecisions of the hero Jason,

71. Rubio 1992: 102–10 and 111–29 respectively.

72. Clauss (2000: 29) sees the evolutionary changes suggested by the poem as leading to a time when mortals are "more human but less humane, more intellectual but less moral." Hunter (1993: 168–69) considers them as pointing to "a positively evaluated Greek culture" but says that contrary tendencies rule out a reading of the poem as "simply panegyric" although "a reading which encompasses a form of 'panegyric' is not only possible, but perhaps inevitable." Both of these views are responsive to the complex nuances of the poem, and my own reading is more or less in line with them. I wonder, however, whether our best course as readers is to render a final judgment, of praise or blame, on the characters or the culture depicted in the poem.

the savagery of his killing of the "barbarian" Apsyrtos, the mixture of civility and ferocity in Aietes. The *Argonautika* keeps various impulses in play, some of them mutually contradictory, and can be read in a variety of ways. It is an expression of Hellenism to be sure, but in other ways it opens Greek identity to questions that make the boundary between self and other appear contingent; and spatiality is one important mode in which it carries out its combined assertions and questionings. For this reason, I prefer to think of the poem as an exploration of these issues that never reaches complete closure, and the chapters that follow will, I hope, bring out some of this rich complexity.

This exploration takes place within the context of great political and social changes in the Greek world. The *Argonautika* was concerned with the orientation of Greek culture within the world at a time when that culture's sense of boundaries, of belonging to a defined space or set of places, of self and other—in short, the culture's collective identity—had been drastically altered, or at least brought into question, by Alexander's conquests and the formation of empires in their wake (see map 4). In what we might call a "second order" way, the *Argonautika* attempts to do the same kind of cultural work that a society performs on the landscape: the appropriation of space to its cultural meanings by portraying an ordered series of places invested with significance through their stories and linked by a network of paths that facilitate and direct movement into and out of them: a space, therefore, that enables and shapes social relations even as it is constructed by them. The poem is thus a spatial story—or rather an ordering of spatial stories—that produces a Greek narrative understanding of the world, although that narrative is far from seamless.

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3

Greece as Center

"The fame of men born long ago, those who by way of Pontos's mouth, through the Kyanean Rocks, on Pelias's command, to gain the Golden Fleece propelled the well-benched *Argo*" (1.1–4). This is the subject of the narrative announced by the opening lines of the poem. One of the many things this opening does is to introduce the *Argonautika* as a spatial story. The cardinal points of the outward voyage are there. The naming of Pelias suggests Iolkos, "to gain the Fleece" implies Colchis, and the Bosporos, the place of transition to what for the Argonauts is the strange world of the Black Sea, is mentioned before origin and destination and described twice for emphasis. Beginning, middle, and end together stand for the entire journey eastward. They are marked as places on an itinerary. At the end of the sentence (the translation preserves the word order of the Greek), mention of the Argonauts' rowing fills with movement what might otherwise have been a static grid on which places are merely plotted. These lines thus enact the linking of places by means of the voyage that is fundamental to the construction of space in the poem. Although the route is at this point laid out schematically, as the Argonauts progress, the narrative will give a more finely grained idea, built up from all their particular experiences, of the topography and characteristics of the space defined by their voyage (see map 2). The departure from Iolkos and the journey to Colchis occupy the first two books of the poem. Book 2 closes as the eastward journey ends in Colchis—a further sign of the coincidence between poem and voyage that the reader experiences physically if, as seems likely, a papyrus roll ended with

the conclusion of the second book.[1] The reader is thus made aware of participating through narrative in the production of space.

The poem and the voyage, however, take a long time in starting. A large proportion of the first book is taken up with a catalogue of Argonauts and scenes of leave-taking and departure from Iolkos. This long wind-up to the main action of the poem has not escaped critical comment, and Apollonius's decision to delay even the opening scene at Iolkos with a two-hundred-line catalogue has drawn especially harsh criticism. I would suggest that the slow beginning calls attention to the poem's spatial concerns. Let us look at the narrative's second announcement of its theme (1.18–22):

> *νῆα μὲν οὖν οἱ πρόσθεν ἔτι κλείουσιν ἀοιδοὶ*
> *Ἄργον Ἀθηναίης καμέειν ὑποθημοσύνῃσι.*
> *Νῦν δ' ἂν ἐγὼ γενεήν τε καὶ οὔνομα μυθησαίμην*
> *ἡρώων δολιχῆς τε πόρους ἁλὸς ὅσσα τ' ἔρεξαν*
> *πλαζόμενοι. . . .*
>
> Singers before me have celebrated—and their poems still do[2]—
> how Argos built the ship at Athena's direction.
> But now I would tell the name and lineage
> of the heroes and the long paths of the sea and all that they did
> as they wandered.

The catalogue is listed as a theme of the poem in parallel with the sea's *poroi* and the deeds of the Argonauts, which are brought into close connection with the space of their journey by "as they wandered." All three themes are equal and intimately connected elements of the poem's story. The catalogue itself has great spatial significance; this chapter argues that the catalogue and scenes of departure from Iolkos establish mainland Greece as the center of the Argonauts' identity as it will be the center of the space that their voyage delineates. This core will determine to a great extent the narrative's perspective. From Greece as physical and conceptual center, the Argonauts and the narrative will understand and respond to the wider world. The poem's long beginning is not an obstacle to be hurried past but should be read carefully and appreciated,

The Catalogue of Argonauts as Spatial Production

The catalogue and its placement have been justified on various grounds. Catalogues, are conventional in epic poetry, and by Apollonius's time were virtually required; there was need to introduce the Argonauts to the reader, especially

1. For especially interesting comments on this convergence from the point of view of narrative, see Wray 2000: 244–46. I think that there is also a spatial implication.

2. I take it that *ἔτι κλείουσιν* implies that earlier poems on the Argonautic theme still survive in the time of this poem's narration (cf. Fränkel 1968: 39)—doubtless in the form of written texts.

because they function as a group or heroic collective in the poem; because of the fluidity of the list of participants in earlier versions, Apollonius had to establish a definitive roster; given the need for a catalogue, it had to come at the beginning because it would have interrupted the action if it had been inserted later on.[3] Another interesting suggestion is that the catalogue and drawn-out departure represent a resistance to beginning the narrative that corresponds to impulses to end it prematurely once it has gotten going (a "narrative death drive" represented by Herakles).[4] If I concentrate here on the catalogue's place in the poem's production of space, it is not to rule out these other explanations.

A move in this direction was already taken by those scholars who described the catalogue as a *periplous* or "voyage around" mainland Greece and by those who observed that it follows a discernible geographic plan in its arrangement. The order in which the heroes are mentioned is determined by the sequence of their home towns or districts, beginning in Thessaly and moving in a more or less consistently clockwise direction around the Greek peninsula, ending back in Thessaly in a ring composition that imitates textually the circular sweep of the *periplous*.[5] Surprisingly, however, almost no one has asked what the significance within the poem of this geographical order might be.[6] It is true that it has precedents in the looser geographical arrangement of the Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad* and in the three divine journeys in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, another highly spatialized poem.[7] But the catalogue, conventional or not, forms an essential part of the *Argonautika*'s definition of space.[8]

3. These justifications can be found in Carspecken's fine discussion of the catalogue (1952: 38–58). Carspecken fairly points out the catalogue's disadvantages, but he tries sympathetically to see what Apollonius's purposes might have been. In the end, he sees the catalogue of Argonauts as a poetic commentary on the Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad*. Mori (2008: 63) sees the catalogue as advertising that "this is an epic that privileges the group over the lone individual."

4. Wray 2000: 247–55, drawing on Brooks 1984. Scherer 2006: 133–34 gives a different justification of the catalogue on the grounds of narrative technique (the narrator's play with the reader's expectations, and its relation to other catalogue-like passages, especially Phineus's prophecy).

5. See Delage 1930: 38–39; Carspecken 1952: 45–47; Clauss 1993: 26–28; Hurst 1998: 282–83. There are other compositional principles at work in the catalogue as well. For example, Herakles comes at the center of the passage, just as he will occupy the central rowing bench on the *Argo*; and the catalogue starts with Orpheus, who is not only a crucial figure in the poem but also a doublet for the poet-narrator. On other structural principles at work in the catalogue, see Clauss 1993: 28–32. It is a mark of poetic skill that they all operate together with the geographical arrangement.

6. An exception is Cusset 2004a: 37–38, who opposes the centripetal progress of the catalogue to the centrifugal voyage along the Black Sea coast and aligns this contrast with an antithesis between Greek and "savage."

7. On the Catalogue of Ships, see especially Carspecken 1952: 45–46; on *h. Apollo*, see Thalmann 1984: 68.

8. There is an exception to the catalogue's concentration on the Greek mainland. Just after the last Peloponnesian entry (Euphemos of Tainaron) and before moving to the northwest with Meleager of Calydon, Apollonius includes Erginos of Miletos and Ankaios of Samos (1.185–89). Formally, as line 185 stresses, the link is that they, like Euphemos, are sons of Poseidon, but their birthplaces may contribute to the catalogue in other ways. Ankaios is an important figure in the poem and has to be included; in making him a native of Samos Apollonius evidently followed the epic poet Asius (Paus. 7.4.1 = Asius fr. 7 Kinkel; cf. Call. *h.* 4.48–50). But the text stresses the importance of Samos in the cult of Hera, patroness of the Argonauts and of Ankaios in particular (2.866–67). With Erginos's birthplace Apollonius had more choice, since Pindar makes him the son of the Boiotian Klumenos (*O.* 4.19–27; cf. *Pae.* 8.102 and Paus. 9.37.1–4). Miletus, however, was extremely active in colonizing the Propontis and the Black Sea area (Boardman 1980: 240–41), and associating Ankaios with Miletus may add a colonial element to the catalogue's definition of Greek space. Cf. Moreau 2000: 330–31. For a different explanation see Scherer 2006: 126–27.

Just as genealogy locates an individual hero in time, a catalogue such as this one is a spatial ordering of the heroes, especially those of a given generation. The text connects each to a place, even as they all converge on Iolkos to take part in the expedition. Not only do they bring with them local associations, but conversely each, through his history (divine parentage, previous exploits) and his participation in the expedition that is about to be recounted, confers on his place of origin a narrative and a distinct identity. Many of the individual heroes' stories link up with those of relatives that are centered on the same places or regions, or evoke wider associations. So, for example, the mention of Bias's sons prompts an allusion to Melampous's wooing of their mother Pero in Iphiklos's house (1.118–21). Their entry in the catalogue thus opens up onto the cycle of stories about the Neleids that are centered on Pylos. The listing in successive entries of Leda's sons Kastor and Polydeukes (1.146–50) and then Idas and Lynkeus (1.151–55) suggests the story of the later fight between these pairs of brothers and so refers to saga localized in Sparta and Messenia. Koronos, from "wealthy Gyrton," rates far fewer lines than his father Kaineus (1.57–64), who distinguished himself in the Lapiths' battle with the Kentaurs and became the subject of song. A connection is made here between the *Argonautika* and earlier epic poems as well as between the Argonautic expedition and the exploits of heroes of the preceding generation. The catalogue thus places its heroes within a network of interlocking stories. It locates their deeds chronologically between past and future, and in parallel fashion it constructs Greece as a network of places that are given identity by the narratives associated with them.

Thus the catalogue produces the Greek mainland as space, a system of places that are interrelated because each is the home of an Argonaut. But at the same time, what the catalogue stresses is that each hero *leaves* his home. It does so mostly through the use of richly varied verbs meaning "he/they came" or "went," which imply departure from home. But a sequence of entries early in the catalogue, the third through the sixth (1.40–56), explicitly names the act of leaving: "Polyphemos came leaving Larissa," "Iphiklos was not left for long in Phylake," "Admetus did not stay in Pherai rich in flocks," "the wealthy sons of Hermes did not remain in Alope." The effect is to fit the Argonautic story into the story pattern of the Mustering of Heroes, to which other major heroic enterprises belong—an effect created also by the evocation of the *Iliad* through imitation of the Catalogue of Ships and the allusion to the Calydonian Boar hunt implicit in Meleager's presence.[9] Spatially, this movement from all over Greece to the point of convergence in Iolkos means that local particularism interlocks with a wider perspective. Just as the Argonauts come together in a

9. This fairly obvious point needs restating because Clare has denied it (2002: 176), on the grounds that only at the conclusion of the catalogue is a "verb of congregation" used (ἠγερέθοντο, 1.228). This is inaccurate: the same verb appears within the catalogue at 1.86, but even apart from that, all the verbs of leaving and coming imply a muster. The catalogue is full of purposeful movement to Iolkos.

common enterprise, these places are brought into alignment with each other by virtue of the ordering of their representatives in the catalogue and compose a larger space. Now most of these points could also be made about the *Iliad*'s Catalogue of Ships, although they seem to me clearer in Apollonius's catalogue. But the important question is the significance for the poem as a whole of the catalogue's emphatically spatial character. Before the Argonauts set sail, the Greek mainland is personified in these heroes, who, in that moving space the *Argo* that embodies Greek identity in foreign lands, will describe with their itinerary an area that has that same Greek mainland as its center. Carspecken's observation that the catalogue presents the Argonauts as a collectivity takes on particular importance when it is understood spatially. Thus the catalogue appropriately appears where it does: the production of Greek space gives the reference point for the construction of larger spaces by the *Argo*'s voyage.

From House to Town, from Town to Shore

The first explicit action in the poem is movement through space: the Argonauts walk through the town of Iolkos and then away from the town to the shore. After the slaves have gotten together the necessary supplies for the voyage (1.237–38),

> δὴ τότ' ἴσαν μετὰ νῆα δι'ἄστεος, ἔνθα περ ἀκταὶ
> κλείονται Παγασαί Μαγνήτιδες. . . .
>
> Then they went through the city to the ship, where the shore
> is renowned as Pagasae of Magnesia. . . .[10]

So the voyage of the *Argo* begins. The entire sequence of scenes from this point until the Argonauts actually set sail is devoted to the act of beginning the journey; it helps to shape our perspective on the voyage, just as beginnings in literature often are programmatic, and all these scenes have an important spatial dimension. The lines just quoted describe in summary form the Argonauts crossing a conceptually important boundary, that between the city, a particular locality in Greece, and the wider world of the Argonauts' wanderings. Home is set against that larger, and at this point unknown, space. The end point of this first movement outward is another boundary: the shore and harbor of Pagasae.

First, however, the narrative dwells on the Argonauts' procession through Iolkos. The townsfolk rush around them, and they stand out in the crowd as stars shine brilliantly among clouds (1.239–40). Then, in Homeric fashion, anonymous citizens comment and express their feelings at the spectacle of

10. I have followed Fränkel as opposed to Vian in not treating *ἀκταί* as a proper noun.

departure, but these comments differ according to the speaker's gender,[11] as they never do in Homer. First a man speaks (1.242–46):

> Ζεῦ ἄνα, τίς Πελίαο νόος· Πόθι τόσσον ὅμιλον
> ἡρώων γαίης Παναχαιΐδος ἔκτοθι βάλλει·
> Αὐτῆμάρ κε δόμους ὀλοῷ πυρὶ δῃώσειαν
> Αἰήτεω ὅτε μή σφιν ἑκὼν δέρος ἐγγυαλίξῃ.
> Ἀλλ' οὐ φυκτὰ κέλευθα, πόνος δ' ἄπρηκτος ἰοῦσιν.
>
> Lord Zeus, what is Pelias thinking? To what place is he casting
> such a great throng of heroes outside the Panachaean land?
> In a single day they could burn with destructive fire the house
> of Aietes if he doesn't hand over the fleece willingly.
> But the journey [literally, "paths"] cannot be avoided, and toil is inevitable
> for them as they go.[12]

This, the first direct speech in the poem, is interestingly complex. On the one hand, the splendor of these young warriors inspires confidence: Aietes will be no match for them if he tries to keep the Golden Fleece. Greek feelings of superiority to the barbarian may be implicit here. In any case, the phrase "the Panachaean land" sums up the catalogue's characterization of Greece. This effect is especially strong because the phrase can be understood in common with "heroes" and "outside": the throng of heroes of the Panachaean land whom Pelias is casting out of that land. And so the collective, Panhellenic character of the Argonauts is stressed at this important moment of departure for places in which they will, as Greeks, confront non-Greeks. But, on the other hand, the questions in the first two lines, and the choice of the verb *βάλλει* ("is casting out"—appropriate because Pelias is in fact trying to get Jason killed), are anything but confident, as though the voyage threatened to waste the lives of Greece's greatest resource. Together with the resigned last line,[13] they frame the boast of superiority to Aietes and qualify it. They do so in spatial terms:

11. See the scholium on 1.247–49a, with rather brutal gender stereotyping:

> *καὶ τοῦτο ὡς πρὸς γυναικείαν φύσιν. ἄγαν θαυμαστῶς πρὸς τὰς φύσεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀμφοτέροις ἀνέπλασεν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀνδράσιν, ἐπεὶ θρασυτέρα ἡ φύσις, ἄνυσιν καὶ τέλος τῶν μελλόντων εἰσάγει, ταῖς δὲ γυναιξίν, ἐπεὶ ἀσθενέστεραι, εὐχὰς καὶ ἱκεσίας ποεῖ. τοιαῦται γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλων καὶ φοβέρων πραγμάτων αἱ γυναῖκες* ("How appropriate this is to women's nature. Very wonderfully has he invented with reference to the nature and way of speaking of both sexes. For he attributes to the men, because their nature is more courageous, the accomplishment and fulfillment of events to come, while he invents for the women, since they are weaker, prayers and supplications. For that is how women are when it comes to great and fearsome events").

For detailed discussion of these speeches, see Clare 2002: 38–42.

12. I take *πόνος ἄπρηκτος* to be equivalent to the *ἄπρηκτοι ὀδυναί* of *Od.* 2.79 and the *ἄπρηκτος ἀνίη* of *Od.* 12.223, so that the adjective means "against which nothing can be done, hence inevitable" rather than, as editors and the scholiast take it, "difficult." There is thus a chiasmus with *οὐ φυκτὰ κέλευθα*, the two adjectives framing the nouns being synonymous, and so the speaker emphasizes the arduousness of the journey.

13. It was clearly a perceived need to keep line 246 consistent with the two preceding lines that led to the contorted reading of it recorded in the scholia.

Greece as opposed to—somewhere ("*where* is Pelias casting them out?"); and the inevitability and toil of the voyage, as if this rather than getting the fleece were the great challenge to the Argonauts. This speech, then, is one example of the way the construction of space in the poem at once offers a Greek perspective on the world and complicates it with more tentative ideas and feelings.

The women, meanwhile, raise their hands and pray to the gods to give the Argonauts "the sweet fulfillment of homecoming" (1.947–49), whereas the male speaker's thoughts have been on the journey, Colchis, and the fleece. When one woman, in tears, speaks to another, her concerns are private and familial, again in contrast to the men's more public themes. In careful contrast with the man's speech, she expresses pity for Jason's parents, Alkimede and Aeson, and a wish that Phrixos had been drowned along with his sister Helle so that there would have been no expedition to get the fleece, and Jason could have stayed at home.

This domestic emphasis prepares for the scene of Jason's private leave-taking, in which he is surrounded by the male and female slaves, and his mother throws her arms around him.[14] Unlike the preceding scene of the heroes' procession, which takes place in the public spaces of the city, this scene takes place in Aeson's house (1.306), and Jason's departure is set off from theirs by ring composition (they are on the way to the *προμολαί* or harbor, 1.260—a word we shall come back to—and he arrives at the *προμολαί* at line 320).[15] The effect is to separate the interior of the house, as sheltered, private space, from that public venue. Consistent with this spatial distinction are several striking inversions in this scene. Aeson does not participate in the farewells, but enfeebled by old age, he laments wrapped up in his cloak (1.263–64). His paralysis by grief contrasts strongly with the scenes recalled several times in the *Iliad* in which a father sends his son off to Troy with admonitions about correct heroic behavior.[16] Here, on the contrary, Aeson, so tightly wrapped in his cloak that it reveals the contours of his body (*ἐντυπάς*), recalls Priam bereft of his son Hektor (*Il.* 24.163, from which this rare word is repeated).[17] Instead, it is his *mother* who addresses Jason, and she does so with a speech of bitter lamentation. The tableau of her clinging to her son is described with a simile—the first extended simile in the poem, preceded only by the brief one at 1.239–40—striking for its age and gender reversals: Alkimede is compared to a young girl weeping, and Jason to the aged nurse who comforts her. In all these ways,

14. There is probably an allusion here to *Od.* 22.497–501, where his female slaves gather around Odysseus and kiss him just after he has killed the suitors—that is, on the completion of his *nostos* or homecoming. Jason, by contrast, has not left home yet. On the complex interplay between Jason's and the other Argonauts' departure scenes, see Clare 2002: 177–79.

15. This effect is ruined if, with Fränkel, we needlessly read *ἐπιπρομολών* in 1.320.

16. *Il.* 6.207–10, 9.252–58, 11.780–89.

17. The word occurs once again in the poem, at 2.861: the Argonauts wrap themselves in their cloaks, mourning because with the death of their helmsman they cannot hope for *nostos*, return home.

the house is set off from the city, as both are set off from the wider scene of Jason's voyage. It is a gendered space, associated with the female, in which desires subversive of the voyage are given expression. If Jason yielded to them, he would never depart, the quest for the fleece would not take place, the narrative would never start,[18] and he, in the simile's terms, would be feminized.[19] He must leave the house in order to become an adult male,[20] just as the whole voyage can be seen as initiatory. But this domestic space, so strongly set off from those of the city and the wider world of Jason's travels, also serves as a reminder of what he must give up and the important duties to family that the expedition overrides. Thus the house, with all it represents, both makes the journey seem all the more heroic and stands as a contrary ideal.

As though to underline the distinction between the interior and the exterior of the house, Jason ends his speech of consolation to his mother this way (1.303–6):

> *"Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν αὖθι μετ' ἀμφιπόλοισιν ἔκηλος*
> *μίμνε δόμοις, μήδ' ὄρνις ἀεικελίη πέλε νηί·*
> *κεῖσε δ' ὁμαρτήσουσιν ἔται δμῶές τε κιόντι."*
> *Ἦ, καὶ ὁ μὲν προτέρωσε δόμων ἐξῶρτο νέεσθαι.*
>
> "But you now, with your maid-servants,
> stay quietly in the house, and do not be an ill omen for the ship.
> My kinsmen and [male] slaves will accompany me as I go."
> With these words he stirred himself to go forward out of the house.

With this admonition that stresses the division between the female sphere of the house and the male space of activity—words reminiscent of Hektor's parting command to Andromakhe at the Skaian Gate, the point of division between battlefield and interior of the city (*Il.* 6.490–93)—Jason takes his first step "forward" and so begins his voyage. Like the other Argonauts before him, he too moves through the crowd in the city, who cheer him on, and as he does so he is compared to Apollo leaving his temple (1.307–9). This is a perfectly

18. Compare again Wray 2000: 258–59 on this scene, and indeed the entire scene of departure, as one of the sites of resistance to beginning the narrative.

19. This point is made economically by an almost mischievous allusion in Alkimede's speech of lament to Pindar's treatment of the Argonautic story in *Pythian* 4. Burial by you, she tells Jason, is all that remains for me to expect, for "I have enjoyed (*πέσσω*) for a long time all other repayment for raising you" (1.283). Pindar tells how Hera kindled in all the heroes a desire for the Argo, desire "that no one should stay, left behind, enjoying (*πέσσοντα*) a life without danger at his mother's side" (*μή τινα λειπόμενον / τὰν ἀκίνδυνον παρὰ ματρὶ μένειν αἰῶνα πέσσοντ[α]*), so that each should wish, with his age-mates, to find a cure for death in his excellence (*P.* 4. 185–88). There is no doubt a more distant echo of *Il.* 2.236, which Mooney 1912: 88 says Apollonius is "unhappily imitating."

20. Cf. Clare 2002: 178: "The moment of Jason's departure from his parents' house is the moment of his entry into the adult world of heroic adventure." On the scene as a whole, see also Beye 1982: 81–82. It is impossible not to think here of Telemakhos in the first two books of the *Odyssey*, oppressed by his prolonged adolescence, who also overcomes female resistance (Eurykleia's) to take a voyage under the patronage of Athena, which similarly gestures toward a transition to adulthood. In contrast to Jason, Telemakhos gets out of the house by avoiding his mother and ordering Eurykleia to keep his departure secret from her.

conventional simile,[21] but it is fitting here. As eternal *kouros* whose locks are forever unshorn (2.707–9), Apollo is associated with young men's transition to adulthood (as his sister Artemis is for women), and it is Apollo who has promised to "indicate by signs" the "paths of the sea" (1.360–61). The simile thus works in tandem with Jason's movement out of the house to suggest that he is crossing both a literal and a metaphorical threshold.

Now a striking incident occurs. Jason comes face to face with Iphias, priestess of Apollo's sister Artemis, who kisses his right hand. She is eager to speak with him but cannot, for he is swept away by the crowd. She is left behind, "as an old woman is by the young" (1.315–16)—a less positive comment on Jason's leaving his mother, perhaps, than the Apollo simile makes. In any case, we have again a spatial contrast between the old and female on the one hand, who stay behind in one place, and the young and masculine, who are in motion and travel between places. But—in keeping with the tension between home and the journey set up by Jason's leave-taking from his mother—a verb used here creates some ambivalence about the expedition: "he was gone, *wandering away* [ἀποπλαγχθείς] from her" (1.316). This compound verb is used of wandering several times in the *Odyssey*—wandering from Troy, from one's fatherland, from dry land, or simply in general (9.259, 15.382, 12.285, 8.573), and the simple verb is used in the second line of the poem to describe Odysseus's wanderings. Apollonius uses both forms in a complex system of echoes within his poem, especially in connection with Herakles, as we saw in chapter 2.[22] The word's use in connection with Jason here (and the application of the simple verb elsewhere to the Argonauts' wandering) cuts against the notion of a goal-directed, spatially productive voyage and injects into their enterprise an element of the spatial randomness that characterizes Herakles. Once again we find a tension introduced into the portrayal of this enterprise. Losing one's way, but also losing or missing connection with others, is a danger of travel, especially in unknown parts. And just as he is setting out through the city Jason has his first experience of the hazards of what he has undertaken.[23]

When Jason leaves the city and reaches the shore at Pagasae (1.317–18), the action begun in lines 237–38 is completed, and the first phase of the departure has ended. By this point, several aspects of space have been introduced that will be important in the poem as a whole. We have seen significant places, the house

21. Beye 1982: 82.

22. For discussion of Apollonius's use of the compound form, see Albis 1996: 61–63. He points out that it occurs rarely after Homer until Apollonius. For the simple verb used in the Odyssean sense to describe the Argonauts' wanderings, see 1.22, 1.81, 4.1321; cf. 2.542. DeForest 1994: 84–85 sees a metapoetic significance in the word.

23. Near-meetings but without contact with the other person will occur again at key points in the poem: Apollo's epiphany on the island of Thynias, the Amazons, Herakles in the Libyan desert. For other implications of the encounter with Iphias, see Nelis 1991; he discusses the participle briefly (98), with different emphases from mine. He notes the connection of Artemis with rites of passage for girls and boys and connects this with Jason's leaving home (100). If he is correct that Iphias foreshadows Medea (101–3), the anticipation provides another link between the priestess and the theme of maturation.

and the city, each of them charged with different kinds of meaning and feeling: in the house, affection, dread, sorrow, and the pathos of departure; in the city, the splendor of departure on a heroic quest, the promise of achievement, and a qualified male optimism balanced by female lamentation. These places enable the expression of these feelings because of the different relationships that are focused on each (familial and wider social relationships respectively), and the places reciprocally take on their character (intimate and public) from those relationships. And finally the description of movement out of the house, through the city, and to the shore raises important themes in spatial terms, and so begins to define the significance of the voyage. The generally positive depiction of the quest for the Golden Fleece is qualified by several dissonant elements: the pathos of the leave-taking, the contrast between domestic and public space, and the implications of "wandering." This pattern will repeat itself throughout the poem.

Jason is not the last to arrive at the seaside; after him come Argos and Akastos, joining the expedition against Pelias's will. These two heroes end the catalogue as well as this procession to the shore. The similarity emphasizes the parallelism between the two passages. Just as the catalogue suggested the convergence of heroes from various parts of Greece on Iolkos, the Argonauts as a group have now left the city for the shore in preparation for leaving Greece: two complementary kinds of movement that define Greece and home preliminary to departure. But first there is another pause in movement, for the Argonauts have reached another significant place.

Emblematic Scenes on the Shore at Pagasae

At Pagasae, Jason stands at (upon?) the *προμολαί*, a word that I translated above as "harbor." As the Alexandrian poets use it, the word refers to a boundary of some sort: elsewhere in Apollonius the entrance to a dwelling (a farmer's steading, Aeetes' house, Jason's and Medea's nuptial cave), the entrance to Zeus's house on Olympus in Callimachus, but also the foot of a mountain in Callimachus and the boundary between land and sea in *Argonautika* 1.260 and 320.[24] In Apollonius, although not in Callimachus, the *προμολαί* are where one pauses.[25] Etymologically the word seems to refer to going forward.[26] It thus

24. See *Arg.* 1.1174, 3.215, 4.1160; Call. *h.*3.142, 99. Cf. *A. P.* 7.9.1, 7.246.1; Op. *Cyn.* 2.134; Gow 1950 on Theoc. 29.40; Schol. on *Arg.* 1.260, 1.1174, and 4.1160. See also the discussions of the word by Campbell 1994: 195–96; Rougier-Blanc 2003: 92–96, with earlier bibliography. The dative with *ἐπί* in the sense "in the direction of" occurs a number of times in Homer, and that is how I take it in 1.260. It would of course be possible to understand the prepositional phrase with *ὣς ἀγόρευον* as Campbell does, but although this would associate the women with the house there is no indication that the women are clustered at the house door (*προμολῇσι* in that case) while the men are scattered throughout the city (1.247, where the transition from the men to the women makes it natural to assume that the latter also are "here and there all around the city").

25. 4.1160 is only an apparent exception. The marriage song is sung at the entrance to the cave, so that the boundary between inside and outside of the marriage chamber is respected, as is regular in Greek weddings.

26. Schol. on 1.260: *ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν μολεῖν*.

refers to a place to which one proceeds and then pauses, the end point of a movement marked as such by a spatial feature that serves as a boundary. But in the present case it indicates a place where one motion ends and another begins, a boundary seen not as static but as a divider and connector of movements, and so a place charged with cultural meaning. The edge of the land, where land and sea meet, is exactly such a place where people pause and then move forward, and as such it is highly significant throughout the poem (chap. 6). The catalogue has already exemplified the importance of the coast, for as Carspecken points out, "the poet has, wherever possible, chosen to designate and describe the various districts of Greece by reference to a very great number of coastal towns rather than to inland regions."[27] So now it is fitting that in this liminal place of the shore, when the Argonauts have left their homes and the city of Iolkos and are about to leave land for sea, Greece for foreign places, and home for unknown lands, they carry out a series of actions that are paradeigmatic for their voyage.[28]

First, the Argonauts select a leader (1.341–49). Initially they look to Herakles, assuming that he will lead them, but he refuses and at his urging they pick Jason instead. Potentially, there is a tension here between claims to power based on established prowess or on the role as organizer of the expedition. If it were allowed to develop, the consequences for this community of heroes could be severe, as the Homeric parallel shows: the assembly in the first book of the *Iliad*, where Achilles' and Agamemnon's assertions of honor have similar bases to those of Herakles and Jason respectively.[29] This danger is defused by a display of a cooperative ethos that is in harmony with Jason's emphasis in lines 336–37 on a community of interests. The scene thus begins to show what kind of community the *Argo*, as moveable Greek space, contains. In turn, the character of that community suggests qualities that by implication are to be seen as essentially Greek.

The launching of the *Argo* brings the ship across the boundary between land and sea. The Argonauts push it down to the water on rollers under the direction of the pilot Tiphys in a cooperative effort that again exemplifies the spirit of their community. The ship moves on land as it will move over the sea, and their labor is a perfect inversion of rowing. Standing on dry land instead of sitting inside the hull, they push the ship by its oars, which are reversed so that the handles protrude over the sides. Do these reversals emphasize the difference between land and sea, or do they adumbrate later moments of confusion between them, such as when the Argonauts carry the ship on their shoulders over the Libyan desert? Perhaps both at once.[30]

Like this labor that imitates it on land, rowing the ship at sea is a purposeful joint activity on which the safety of the group and of each individual

27. Carspecken 1952: 46.

28. For a different discussion of this sequence from my own, see Clauss 1993: 57–87.

29. For discussion, see Clare 2002: 44–47.

30. The portage in Libya is discussed in chap. 4, and the relation of land and sea in general at the end of chap. 6.

depends. The Argonauts' method of assigning seats on the rowing benches sets the pattern for this contribution of each to the collective enterprise. They cast lots for these positions, with two to a bench, and decide "by common agreement" (*αἰνήσαντες*) to entrust Tiphys with the steering oar (1.394–401). As far as rowing is concerned, then, the Argonauts are interchangeable units of a larger group. This collective identity does not prevent them from having individual attributes and talents, but these abilities are put in service of the group.[31]

Herakles' prowess, however, is so great that he is treated exceptionally. He does not have to cast lots for his position; instead the Argonauts "picked out" the central bench for him and Ankaios (*ἐκ . . . ᾕρεον*, 1.396–97).[32] They do so by consensus, apparently, but the verb is used in the *Iliad* for the award of an honorific prize by the community to an outstanding individual warrior.[33] In this case, then, achievement and acknowledged superiority create a hierarchy that represents an alternative model of society to the collective and egalitarian model enacted by the casting of lots for position. At least for a while, the *Argonautika* accommodates both models; from their central position, after all, Herakles and Ankaios will serve the expedition with their strength. Accordingly, when the *Argo* is about to depart from Pagasae the next day, the Argonauts take their seats on the rowing benches "in rows" (*ἐπισχερὼ ἀλλήλοισιν*)[34] and "in good order" (*εὐκόσμως*—a word that can have political overtones),[35] with Herakles and Ankaios in the middle (1.528–32), just as Herakles was listed at the center of the catalogue.

The two models, however, are not fully compatible, as the incident that leads to the loss of Herakles shows (1.1153–71). During a calm an *ἔρις* or spirit of competition provokes the Argonauts to see who can keep rowing longest. Near evening, when a wind comes up, the others stop, but Herakles keeps rowing vigorously until, in the now-turbulent water, he breaks his oar. This kind of competition, which creates and maintains hierarchies of prestige and is often designated by the word *ἔρις* in Greek literature, can benefit a community when people compete in serving it, as with this contest. But in the case of

31. This group identity may also be expressed by implicit comparisons of the Argonauts to a chorus: Nishimura-Jensen 2009; note her discussion of Herakles' incompatibility with the choral model (13).

32. This is the Ankaios from Tegea (1.164), not the Samian.

33. *Il.* 1.369, 11.627, 16.56, 18.444. That these all refer to shares of booty whereas now precedence is given to two heroes in how they will contribute to the rowing may indicate a bit of a shift from Homeric society toward greater explicit emphasis on service to the community, although that is implicitly valued in Homer as well.

34. Apollonius uses *ἐπισχερώ* five times of orderly series: four times of the Argonauts sitting at their oars (1.528, 3.1269) or in assembly (1.330, 3.170) and once of the narrative sequence of his own poem (4.451). He uses *ἑξείης* similarly of people, things, or places in spatial series or the sequence of topics in an utterance: 1.30, 455, 1007; 2.314, 380, 395, 771; 3.201, 217; 4.564, 1180, 1231. Cf. 1.742 (the sequence of scenes depicted on Jason's cloak).

35. Cf. Solon 4.32W. Thucyd. 6.42 provides an especially interesting parallel to our passage. Although it is not concerned with political order, it describes the leaders of the Athenian fleet at Corcyra structuring the command in such a way that the personnel would be "more orderly and easier to lead" (*εὐκοσμότεροι καὶ ῥᾴους ἄρχειν*).

Herakles it gets out of control, as it always threatens to do.[36] The result is damage to the community: the loss of a comrade on whom the Argonauts relied and who would have made their tasks easier to accomplish (e.g., 2.145–53). It also threatens their community when Telamon angrily accuses Jason of engineering Herakles' abandonment and leaps at the helmsman Tiphys (1.1290–97). Telamon's apology after the sea god Glaukos's intervention and Jason's self-restraint and temperate response typify the cooperative spirit that prevails among the Argonauts (1.1332–44).[37] This whole sequence of events throws that spirit into relief and shows how, by behaving according to its standards, a community can peaceably resolve conflicts that are all too likely to fester and even widen when an individualistic ethos centered on personal prestige prevails.[38] Not that the poem rejects that ethos; Herakles and his achievements shadow the Argonauts for the rest of their voyage. The narrative juxtaposes with it a more collegial and consensual model of community that also has a precedent in the behavior of Homeric heroes and makes it predominate among the Argonauts. These are complementary models, and I suggest that the narrative allows each to shed light on the strengths and weaknesses of the other.[39]

A parallel sequence of quarreling followed by reconciliation occurs on the shore (1.460–518) when Idas taunts Jason for his gloom, is rebuked by Idmon,

36. Thalmann 2004. The *Argonautika* contains few occurrences of *ἔρις*. Besides 1.1153, the others (including the verbs *ἐριδαίνω* and *ἐριδμαίνω*) are 1.89 (Eurytos's ill-fated challenge to Apollo); 1.773 (the strife provoked by love); 2.60 (Polydeukes smiles and does not answer Amykos's threat in kind); 2.986 (of the battle with the Amazons that does not take place); 3.94, 109 (of Aphrodite's relations with her son Eros); and 4.446 (one of the effects of Eros on mortals). As these instances show, *ἔρις* in the sense of "conflict" or individual self-aggrandizement is foreign to the Argonauts' ethos, and it occurs only at 1.1153 to name a more controlled and constructive competition that then gets out of hand when Herakles, and not they, gets carried away. Contrast the *δῆριν ἀμεμφέα* ("blameless rivalry") of 4.1767 that stays under control and is then commemorated in a local custom.

37. For discussion of this scene, see Mori 2005, 2008: 82–90. By contrast, Herakles is the one to nurse a grudge. He will, we are told, kill the sons of Boreas for restraining Telamon from attacking Tiphys, and thus preventing the Argonauts from going back to look for him (1.1302–9).

38. It will be evident that I cannot accept Dräger's reductive view of the *Argonautika* as a "Zorn-Epos" in the manner of the *Iliad* (2001). His key points rely on extremely forced readings of the Greek. Characters in the poem get angry as they do in any epic, but that does not mean that anger is its central theme. Dräger takes little account of the means the Argonauts use to reconcile differences.

39. For these reasons I think it unnecessary to decide whether the poem shows the replacement of an older model of heroism, represented by Herakles, with a new one, represented by Jason, or whether Jason appears weak or reasonable and statesmanlike by comparison with Herakles. There have been long debates on these questions, and I have learned much from them. But they seem too narrowly framed, and to make assumptions about Homeric society that I do not think the Homeric texts will justify. A cooperative spirit is prominent among the heroes of the *Iliad*, who are fighting for a common cause, along with competition (which itself can lead either to social cohesion or to fragmentation: Thalmann 2004). I would say that the difference is that the *Iliad* portrays problems in society that arise in large part from the difficulty of accommodating the demands of individual honor within a communal framework, whereas the *Argonautika* is concerned to show a largely unified and functioning society, for reasons I go on to suggest. For sensible and nuanced discussions of Jason and traditional (especially Homeric) models of heroism, see Pietsch 1999: 104–13; Hunter in Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 104–17. Manakidou's study of the vocabulary of anger and quarreling in the *Argonautika* (1998) reveals some striking differences from the Homeric epics, but I do not agree that these simply show the incompatibility of the traditional and the new epic worlds.

and threatens the seer in reply.[40] Orpheus prevents the quarrel (νεῖκος, 1.492) from going further by singing a cosmogony that enchants the Argonauts back into harmony. Not only does the song put the expedition in the widest possible spatial and temporal framework;[41] it also, in Empedoclean style, places quarreling (νεῖκος) at the heart of the way things are in the world (1.498). It thus implicitly acknowledges the inevitability of social discord even as it demonstrates how to soothe it. The episode thus offers a paradigm of the containment of conflict that Jason and Telamon later put into practice and that is evoked again when the Argonauts build an altar to *Homonoia*, political concord—an important principle in Hellenistic, and earlier, political thinking[42]—on the island of Thynias in the Black Sea (2.717–19). Orpheus's song thus shows Greeks resolving political problems by bringing to bear on them the resources of their religious tradition and their cosmogonic speculation, and thus plays an important part in establishing the *Argo* as a microcosm of Greek culture. Unlike Herakles, Idas, an extreme representative of the individualist ethos, will take part in the entire voyage, fighting alongside his companions (1.1044), killing the boar that fatally gores Idmon (2.830–31),[43] and volunteering with others to undergo the ordeal set by Aietes instead of Jason (3.516–17). His abilities potentially can serve the group well, although his actual achievements in this poem are rather thin. He exemplifies a strain in Greek culture that needs to be represented on the *Argo*. At the same time, Jason finds a way to contain the threat of disorder that he poses. When Idas—not unreasonably by his own lights—criticizes the proposal to accept Medea's help in Colchis, Jason deals with the criticism by ignoring it and marginalizing him (3.556–69; cf. 1169–70).[44]

40. On Idas as a foil for Jason, see Fränkel 1960. Clauss discusses the quarrel as pitting a "man of strength" against a "man of skill" (1993: 83). For detailed discussion of this episode see Mori 2008: 74–82.

41. The spatial context is given by the creation of sun, moon, and stars as signs of direction and of mountains and rivers as landmarks on earth (1.499–502). The temporal frame is given by a version of the divine succession myth. With its culmination in Zeus, this story concerns the creation of order with clear political implications for mortals, as Hesiod's *Theogony* shows.

42. See, for example, Aristotle's discussion of *homonoia* as a political form of *philia* in the *Eudemian Ethics* (1241a1–33). There is inscriptional evidence for altars and other dedications to Homonoia personified from the third century BCE until well into Roman times (see Zwicker in *R-E* s.v. *Homonoia*). This includes an inscription attesting a joint cult of Homonoia of the Hellenes and Zeus Eleutherios ("Bringer of Freedom") at Plataea from at least the time of the Chremonidean War (268/7–262/1 BCE): see Austin 2006: 135–36 and W. C. West 1977. This cult, significantly for my purposes here, celebrated the unity of the Greeks against the Persians and the victory at Plataea in 479 BCE. The altar to Homonoia that the Argonauts build may similarly suggest Hellenic concord in the face of non-Greeks, although it must also signify the absence of strife internal to the community (the original meaning of the word). For an altar of Homonoia at Olympia of unknown date near the altar fronting the great temple of Zeus, see Paus. 5.14.9. See also Tarn 1952: 90–91, especially his remark, "She [Homonoia] was one of the great conceptions of the Hellenistic age, but she remained a pious aspiration only." On the significance of the cult in Ptolemaic literature and ideology, see Hunter 2008a: 268–73.

43. Note Hunter's comment on this act: "in death the Argonautic virtues of solidarity and mutual support are seen in their starkest colours" (1993: 44).

44. Note especially Jason's ἐπεὶ τόδε πᾶσιν ἔαδε ("since everyone agrees") at 3.568. Cf. Manakidou 1998: 253.

The *Argo*, then, as a Greek space defined by the social relations it helps to create, as a heterotopia presenting an idealizing and clarifying image of Greek society, confronts non-Greek lands and peoples with characteristically Hellenic social forms: both an egalitarian model and a more hierarchical one based on individual achievement and prestige.[45] This is the spatial relevance of the structures shaping Argonautic society. They are characteristically Hellenic because they have prototypes in earlier or contemporary Greek society, or both. Although both have forerunners in Homer, the egalitarian model also seems based heavily on the ideology of the developed polis, in which male citizens were notionally equal and collaborative participants in the state (whatever was the reality in any particular city). It recalls especially democratic Athens, where allotment was used extensively in assigning offices in a participatory government. At the same time, the Argonauts in their relation to Jason have a parallel in the Companions of Alexander and the *philoi* (literally, "friends": a formal designation) of the Ptolemies,[46] who also claimed Herakles as their ancestor—a suggestive combination from the point of view of the *Argonautika*. It seems that Apollonius offers a sedimented view of Greek society, with "heroic" society overlaid by political forms that blossomed later, even though their beginnings might be discernible in Homer.[47] Thus the *Argo* incorporates several versions of Greek society, and the Argonauts' collective identity as Greeks is based upon a combination of the qualities and values characteristic of these political models.[48] It seems especially interesting that the Argonauts' actions on the shore would have had strong contemporary (or near-contemporary) resonances, so that the portrayal of a Hellenism that will contrast with other cultures during the *Argo*'s voyage draws on current as well as traditional political ideas and practices.

Collective worship of the gods complements collaboration in practical activities in preparation for departure (1.402–49). The Argonauts build an altar on the shore, for the first of many times in the poem. This is one important way

45. Cusset, who also sees the *Argo* as representing Hellenism, remarks that the catalogue constructs the Argonauts who embark on it as "une famille assemblée, organisée, hierarchisée" (2004a: 38). I think wider models of community organization are at least as relevant as the family. Dräger 2001: 120 gives a formal reason for the Argonauts' relatively egalitarian relations; if he is correct, those relations are still expressed in the idiom of Greek political forms.

46. I am grateful to one of the anonymous referees for this point. See also Pietsch 1999: 130; Mori 2008: 71–73. On the "friends," see Samuel 1993: 185–87. For a different view, namely that "the group venture is a wistful echo of the lost democratic ideal," see Green 1988: 13.

47. In a similar way, Nishimura-Jensen (2009) suggests that Apollonius uses "diachronic" models of the chorus to depict the Argonauts. For other images of social and political structures in the poem, and on various paradigms of leadership, see Hunter in Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 126–32.

48. See especially Mori 2008: 53–54, who observes that the Argonauts' functioning as a group reflects "many different types of polity (Homeric, Athenian, Macedonian, and Ptolemaic)," but that their generally cooperative spirit "is more in keeping with a third-century model of a well-balanced community." On the similarity between the public selection of Jason as leader and the way Macedonian kings traditionally gained power by public acclamation, see Mori 2008: 68–70. It may be true that, as Mori argues, in this respect and in others the *Argonautika* affirms Ptolemaic ideology, but there is a broader point to be made about the poem's construction of Greek identity.

in which they mark space with permanent signs of their passage. As the prototype for this kind of spatial practice in the rest of the poem, the construction of this altar seems especially significant. What more fitting place is there to commemorate the Argonauts' presence than the shore where the *Argo* first touched water, and what more appropriate god to worship here than Apollo, who gave Jason the oracle encouraging the expedition (1.411–14)? They dedicate the altar to Apollo *Aktios* and *Embasios*, Apollo of the Shore and of Embarkation. The combination of epithets suggests land and sea, and captures the sequence of pause followed by resumption of movement that we saw encapsulated in the word *προμολαί*. Thus the spatial coordinates that orient the voyage of the narrative—land vs. sea, Greece vs. other space—are projected onto a divinity and guaranteed by him. At the same time, this place will be the end point of the voyage as well as the beginning. Apollo's epithet here, *Embasios*, is echoed and balanced by the last word of the poem, addressed by the narrator to the Argonauts: *εἰσαπέβητε*, "you disembarked."[49] In his prayer to Apollo that now accompanies the sacrifice on the altar, Jason reminds the god that he promised to "indicate by signs the accomplishment and limits of the journey" (1.413–14: *ἄνυσιν καὶ πείραθ' ὁδοῖο / σημανέειν*). He is standing at that limit as he utters these words. His request to Apollo that immediately follows stresses both voyage out and return (1.415–16):

> *αὐτὸς νῦν ἄγε νῆα σὺν ἀρτεμέεσσιν ἑταίροις*
> *κεῖσέ τε καὶ παλίνορσον ἐς Ἑλλάδα.*
>
> You yourself now bring the ship with my comrades unharmed
> there and back again to Hellas.

Similarly, in his prophecy over the sacrificial victim as it is burning, Idmon speaks of voyage and homecoming (1.440–44):

> *Ὑμῖν μὲν δὴ μοῖρα θεῶν χρειώ τε περῆσαι*
> *ἐνθάδε κῶας ἄγοντας· ἀπειρέσιοι δ' ἐνὶ μέσσῳ*
> *κεῖσέ τε δεῦρό τ' ἔασιν ἀνερχομένοισιν ἄεθλοι.*
> *Ἀυτὰρ ἐμοὶ θανέειν στυγερῇ ὑπὸ δαίμονος αἴσῃ*
> *τηλόθι που πέπρωται ἐπ' Ἀσίδος ἠπείροιο.*
>
> For you it is the portion from the gods and fate to complete the journey
> bringing the fleece here. But in between,
> as you go there and come back here, there are innumerable trials in
> store for you.
> But for me it is destined to die under the hostile apportionment of
> divinity
> somewhere far off, on the continent of Asia.

49. With its double prefixes this verb stresses the crossing of the boundary between sea and land: "you went to [shore] from [the ship]."

"There and here": the deictics relate Iolkos and Colchis as beginning and end point of the outward voyage, and with the emphasis on going from "here" to "there" balanced by an equal emphasis on the return, they again indicate that the shore at Pagasae is both origin and ultimate goal of the voyage. They also, just as significantly, imply a spatial orientation: Greece, indicated by "here," is the reference point, the center around which space is conceived. This may seem obvious; and of course Jason and Idmon would naturally speak this way. But we will see moments later in the poem when the orientation shifts significantly, and it is fundamental to the narrative's construction of space that these deictics orient the reader from Greece outward in imagination. Finally, the deictics give a skeletal prospect over the voyage and the poem's narrative; the outline will be filled in progressively, from the moment the Argonauts set sail. For now, Idmon can only refer to an intermediate place, where he will die, as "somewhere far off" in Asia—a spatial indication whose vagueness contrasts sharply with the precision of "there" and "here." That gap will be filled in as the narrative proceeds. The journey and the story will involve immense detours, but this place on the shore as beginning and end, and Colchis as destination for the eastern part of the itinerary, give definition and shape to the space the *Argo* will cover.

Like the Argonauts' actions on the shore, the scene of their departure the next day (1.519–58) is archetypal for the voyage to come. It is constructed with careful reference to particular landmarks and repeats some major themes from the preceding episodes. The rising sun hits the towering peaks of Mount Pelion (literally, gleaming Dawn sees them with her brilliant eyes, so that we first have a far-off, divine view of the setting), a fresh wind drives the waves onto headlands under a clear sky, and Tiphys wakes his comrades. The harbor of Pagasae and the *Argo* herself, daughter of Mount Pelion (the epithet connects the ship to a Greek place), resound with a terrible shout; it is the ship herself, eager to start, vocal because of the keel-beam from Zeus's oak at Dodona (connection with another, and very sacred, Greek place). The Argonauts take their seats on the rowing benches in good order as a well-functioning society. A simile describes their collaboration. As they begin to row and their oars strike the water in unison in time with the notes of Orpheus's lyre, they are compared to youths striking a dancing floor with their feet in rhythm (ἐμμελέως) as they honor Apollo (who enters the text here yet again). Their unity thus resembles the social cohesion attained through cult activity, and we should note the juxtaposition of land and sea in the relation between the simile's tenor and vehicle.[50]

50. The simile at 1.575–79, when the *Argo* is near the mouth of the Gulf of Pagasae, creates the same effect. At the music of Orpheus's lyre, fish follow the ship just as flocks of sheep follow in the footsteps (ἴχνια) of a shepherd back to their fold as he plays the syrinx. In the emphasis on footsteps there is also a suggestion of orderly direction imposed by movement over an undefined expanse, which is analogous to the Argonauts' rhythmical rowing to Orpheus's accompaniment. The simile also looks back to the trees that follow Orpheus to the shore and stand in rows (1.28–31).

Armor gleams in the sun, and the wake stretches out white behind the ship like a path that appears in a green meadow; again, land and sea are brought together in this threshold moment, and in a paradigm for the whole voyage the wake creates direction on the sea's surface, produces its formlessness as space.[51] These men are "the race of demi-gods [ἡμιθέων ἀνδρῶν γένος], who at that time were the best [ἄριστοι] to sail over the sea"—a clear statement of the significance of this expedition and its heroes to Greek culture even at the time of the reader (whom the temporal deictic "then" places in relation to the narrative). The *Argo*, it is suggested once again, carries Greek tradition within itself. Looking down from the sky "on that day" (another temporal deictic), the gods watch them and their ship. On the highest peaks the nymphs of Pelion marvel at the *Argo*, built by Athena's craft, and at the heroes themselves, rhythmically stroking with their oars. From the mountain heights the Centaur Kheiron comes down to the sea's edge, and with the water just wetting his feet he calls out an auspicious farewell to the Argonauts. His hybrid nature is in keeping with the composite and ambiguous character of the shore where he stands. With the spectacle of Kheiron's wife holding up the infant Achilles so that his father Peleus can see him, we have a sense not only of where the Argonauts fit chronologically in the Greek heroic tradition but also of the future of that tradition from the narrative's perspective, which for the reader is part of the past.

A brilliant passage, one of many in the *Argonautika* that should give pause to anyone tempted to write Apollonius off as bookish, derivative, secondary, and so on. What is remarkable about it is not simply its wealth of detail but the way the details are arranged spatially, as are the shifting perspectives on the scene: the gods in the sky, the nymphs on the heights of Pelion, the shore, the *Argo* and its wake.[52] The different levels correspond to different positions in the cosmic hierarchy—gods, nymphs, and heroes—but the scene knits these together into a unity. "What this divine, semidivine, and mortal audience suggests," writes Byre, "is that this is a seamless fictional world, hierarchically arranged and unified by close, indeed intimate, ties of kinship extending from the gods on high to the race of heroes down below."[53] The spatial arrangement of the various segments of this audience who all watch the *Argo* expresses these relationships and gives us a tableau, at this moment of departure, of the Greek cultural and historical tradition: the age of heroes and its ties to place and to divinity. This scene thus caps the sequence we have traced from the catalogue

51. Cf. Clare 2002: 60: "The simile implies that the ship's passage imposes order on the sea, normally that most insubstantial and unpredictable of spaces." The path in the simile is interestingly discussed in relation to Callimachean poetics by DeForest 1994: 45.

52. These different levels are well described by Phinney 1967: 145–46 and Beye 1982: 31 as helping to give the scene a pictorial or "painterly" quality that is typical of the *Argonautika*. This pictorial emphasis seems closely related to the poem's spatial nature.

53. Byre 1997: 110–11.

on and works with the earlier scenes to define, in spatial terms, mainland Greece as the center of the Argonauts' Greek identity—that center in reference to which they will organize the larger space of their voyage—and the *Argo* as a mobile extension of that privileged space.

If the later scene of the passage through the Planktai—where the *Argo* is tossed through the opening as passive sport for the Nereids while gods again watch from on high[54]—contrasts with this one, that is because it occurs in a region that is both physically and conceptually remote from this center, where the Argonauts merely pass through space without controlling its significance (chap. 7). The differences between the episodes epitomize the extremes in this poem's depiction of space between the power to invest space with Greek meanings and the inability to do so. Even in these opening scenes of departure, however, we have noticed some elements that offset the pride of embarkation on a heroic quest that will construct a Greek-centered world—the sorrow of Jason's farewell to his parents, his failed meeting with Iphias, his despondency at the wine-drinking after the sacrificial feast, Idmon's prophecy of his own death—and there is one of these even here: Jason's tears as he now forces his eyes away from his fatherland, which contrast sharply with the admiring gaze of all who have been looking at the *Argo*.[55] These things do not undermine the positive construction of Greece as center here; but they do point to how, as we see in other parts of the poem, various impulses make their effect felt simultaneously in the production of space.

Lemnos and the Mixing of Categories

After the flourish of the departure from Pagasae and the long preparation leading up to it, the Lemnian episode (1.607–914) threatens an anticlimax. Exactly reversing the stages in his departure, on Lemnos Jason goes from the shore to the city to the intimate feminine spaces of the royal house, where he lingers, day after day.[56] No sooner has the expedition gotten under way than it is in danger of being aborted. True to the underlying pattern of the Kirke episode in the *Odyssey*, it takes Herakles' rebuke to get Jason and the other Argonauts who have paired with Lemnian women to resume the voyage.

This is the only major episode until late in book 4 to be set in the Aegean Sea. The Argonauts' experiences on Lemnos should therefore still form part of

54. Ibid., 112–14.

55. Pike 1993 emphasizes what he views as a tendency to qualify the heroic tone throughout the catalogue and the opening scenes. Byre 1997: 106–8 rightly cautions against reading the beginning of the poem in light of the knowledge we acquire as we read on about the gods' motives and the humans' characters, but I think that the discordant elements are clear enough in these passages. That is, I would take a position between those of Pike and Byre.

56. Clare 2002: 182 also points out that the crowd scene in the Argonauts' departure from Iolkos is recalled by Jason's arrival in the city on Lemnos, where he is again surrounded by a crowd (1.782–84).

the enactment of Greek identity that was prominent in the scenes at Iolkos and Pagasae, and so they do—but in a mixed way that is consistent with the paradoxical reversal of the departure sequence. This is a curious episode; the Argonauts have not left Greek waters and yet their landing here has the character of arrival at a goal. If so, it is a deceptive goal. The outcome, however, is positive. The Argonauts leave and ultimately succeed in their quest for the Golden Fleece. Hypsipyle, the Lemnian queen, will bear Jason's son Euenos, who is mentioned in the *Iliad* (7.468–69). Descendants of the Argonaut Euphemos and a Lemnian woman will colonize Thera and then Cyrene—a future that is anticipated late in book 4. During this interlude, however, when the whole enterprise threatens to end less than gloriously, some of the categories basic to Greek identity are put under stress and explored, and the final picture that emerges is ambivalent rather than clearly affirmative of Greek values.[57]

It will not do to say that a stop on Lemnos was required by the Argonautic tradition and that the story brought its inherent peculiarities with it into the poem. Certainly Apollonius needed it for the sake of the Thera and Cyrene stories, but he did not have to make the Lemnian episode such a major obstacle to the Argonauts' progress or recount it at such length. Pindar had discreetly moved it to the margins of his story in *Pythian* 4 by putting it at the end of the *Argo*'s voyage and not directly narrating it at all. That decision entailed some geographical awkwardness, since Lemnos is not on the way by sea from Thera to Iolkos, but Apollonius did have a choice. His near-contemporary, Dionysius Skytobrachion, in his version of the Argonautic quest, seems to have done without a stop at Lemnos entirely, substituting for it a long episode at Troy (Diod. 4.42 = fr. 16 Rusten). This decision may have followed from his innovation in making Herakles rather than Jason the leader of the Argonauts. It was Jason whose affair with Hypsipyle was characteristic of the Lemnian story, whereas according to tradition Herakles sacked Troy as a result of a feud with its king Laomedon.[58] There are, however, important consequences of this difference between Dionysius and Apollonius. Rusten comments that the reason for Herakles' prominence in Dionysius's account is that he "wished to take full advantage of the figure of Heracles as a civilizing influence in distant lands" and that "Heracles' glory consists in leading the Argonauts against a variety of cruel barbarian kings,"[59] the first of whom was Laomedon. Dionysius's narrative was suffused with the notion of Greek superiority over barbarians, and it

57. Other readings of this episode include Beye 1969: 43–45 and 1982: 88–93, who discusses the relation of love and sexuality to the poem's depiction of heroism. This involves contrasting Jason with Herakles. Clauss 1993: 136–47 also argues for a contrast between them in modes of heroism. Mori 2008: 109–13 gives a political interpretation: the episode justifies the Greek presence in Egypt, but it also shows how the private lives of kings are dominated by the need to produce an heir even as it warns about the dangers posed by an unrestrained eros.

58. If Dionysius's text was earlier than the *Argonautika*, Herakles' emphatic abstention from the pleasures of the Lemnian women was perhaps Apollonius's way of asserting his difference from that other version.

59. Rusten 1982: 96, 97.

would have been hard to fit the Lemnian episode into that pattern, whereas it fits well with Apollonius's much more complex portrayal of ethnicity.

According to Aeschylus (*Cho.* 631–38), the Lemnian women were proverbial for women's evil daring. They represent the Greek male's most horrifying fantasy: they have killed their own husbands. When they first appear in the poem, thinking that the *Argo* is a ship from Thrace come to attack them, they run out of the city to the shore in armor (1.633–39). Apollonius likens them to "Maenads who eat raw flesh" and who are traditionally an image of women out of control, and of women's alleged susceptibility to states of strong emotion that in the male view necessitated, and so justified, keeping them subordinate. In their battle gear, the women also resemble the Amazons who are described in 2.985–1000.[60] Non-Greeks who live in remote areas, the Amazons can safely be imagined as inverting Greek gender norms. According to Apollonius, they do not inhabit a polis but live dispersed by tribes (2.996–97). But the Lemnian women inhabit an island in Greek waters, and they control a typically Greek polis. They act like male citizens and hold an assembly to debate what to do about the Argonauts. There Hypsipyle sits on her father's stone seat as though she were his male heir (1.667–68)—an obvious and ironic allusion to both Telemakhos sitting on his father's throne in the Ithakan assembly (*Od.* 2.14)[61] and Nestor taking his place before the door of his house on the seat of polished stone on which his father sat before him, which is an image of succession in the male line (*Od.* 3.404–12). [62]

On the other hand, in contrast to the Amazons, their femininity makes the Lemnian women vulnerable. Although armed for battle, they are fearful and helpless (1.638–39: notice that favorite word of Apollonius, *ἀμηχανίη*), whereas the Amazons are ferocious warriors (2.985–89). In the assembly they make a pragmatic decision to form unions with the Argonauts because otherwise they can only look forward to old age without men to farm and to protect them. And so they again accept roles in the house, as opposed to sea shore and assembly place, and eventually as mothers, and a male line of succession is restarted on Lemnos that will issue in Jason's son Euenos and later the colonists of Thera and Cyrene.[63] In the terms of Greek gender discourse, the Argonauts "tame"

60. In fact Sophocles, in his *Lemnian Women*, had the women fight a fierce battle with the Argonauts (schol. on *Arg.* 1.769–73). On the Lemnian women as anticipating the Amazons, see especially Cusset 2004a: 47–50.

61. For the allusion to Telemakhos see Clauss 1993: 118–19 and Clare 2002: 208–10. I think that the allusion to Nestor is also important although there is no verbal echo.

62. That Hypsipyle saved her father Thoas by putting him to sea in a chest (1.620–26) may mitigate her share in the women's guilt and therefore any possible shame in Jason's relationship with her. At the same time the manner of this rescue involves more gender inversion: compare the myth of Danae and Perseus, and for *λάρναξ* at 1.622 cf. the first line of Simonides' Danae-fragment (PMG 543; cf. Clauss 1993: 112–13). The renaming of the island on which Thoas fetches up after the son he begets there is decidedly two-edged. On the one hand, it commemorates Hypsipyle's loyalty to her father, but on the other it stresses the continuation of his lineage in another place, and with the begetting of a *male* child.

63. Cf. 1.850–52 (Aphrodite's motive for making the women of Lemnos sexually attracted to the Argonauts) and Herakles' sneer at Jason for wanting to repopulate the island with men at 1.872–74.

the Lemnian women sexually. This "conquest" (to use an English metaphor) is enacted spatially and symbolically. When Jason enters the gates (*πύλαι*) of the city (1.782) and then the doors (*θύραι*) of Hypsipyle's house are thrown open for him (1.786–87), there is an obvious suggestion of sexual penetration.[64] The erotic tone has been set by the famous simile comparing Jason on his way to the city wearing the brilliant robe woven by Athena to a bright star that girls "shut within their newly built chambers" see with joy because its appearance means that their marriages are near (1.774–80). The simile expresses the Greek norm for women (marriage) just as its violation is about to be undone by Jason and the other Argonauts. A major tendency of the episode, then, is to reaffirm gender norms, whose inversion and restoration are both expressed spatially.

There are, however, too many dissonances for this reading of the episode to be complete. The simile just mentioned contrasts with as well as resembles the situation on Lemnos. The Lemnian women, who killed their husbands, are not virgins (although Hypsipyle herself may be an exception), and their relationship with the Argonauts will not be marriage. When she first sits before Jason, a blush colors Hypsipyle's "virginal cheeks" (*παρθενικὰς ἐρύθηνε παρηίδας*, 1.790–91), but it is the masculine star in the simile that blushes (*ἐρευθόμενος*, 1.778). She is behaving with "proper" modesty, but the simile hints at gender reversal even in a context of restoration of norms.[65] And even if those norms are reaffirmed, the Argonauts unknowingly play right into the women's hands in helping them avoid the consequences of murdering the island's male inhabitants. They are not entirely in control even now, and in a sense the women's impunity leaves the gender hierarchy violated. In particular, Jason is duped by Hypsipyle, who suppresses the murder in her account of the past (1.834–35) and portrays the women as victims of male wrongdoing, speaking with "wily words" (*μύθοισι . . . αἱμυλίοισι*, 1.792). Jason will later speak in the same manipulative way to Medea, who will take delight in his "wily words" (*τέρπετο γάρ οἱ / θυμὸς ὁμῶς μορφῇ τε καὶ αἱμυλίοισι λόγοισιν*, 3.1140–41). In many ways, in fact, this episode looks ahead to Jason's relationship with Medea, and even though there are differences as well, the Argonauts' experiences in the Aegean world and in Colchis are not entirely distinct.[66] If Hypsipyle here behaves to Jason as he later will with Medea—in both cases deceptively in order to get what they need—the boundary between male and female so emphatically drawn in normative Greek discourse cannot be kept distinct. In some respects, the Lemnian women elude men's control, and the analogy of the Amazons still

64. For *θύρα* and *πύλη* as common terms for the female genitalia, see Henderson 1991: 137. Note the name Hypsipyle, "High Gate." Cf. Beye 1982: 88: "Dressed in his cloak, the proper amatory warrior, Jason advances in all his beauty upon the city, the palace, and finally Hypsipyle. It is a thoroughly erotic progression in which enclosures and their penetration are the dominant motif."

65. When Jason is led to Hypsipyle, he goes with "his eyes coyly lowered like a young girl's (1.784)": Hunter 1993: 49.

66. For detailed comparison, see Hunter 1993: 47–52.

looms, despite the sexual "taming" of the women. And if Medea in remote Colchis resembles Hypsipyle here in the Aegean, the distinction between Greek and other is also put at risk and appears fluid.

That Jason leaves his mother in the interior of his parents' house and enters the private spaces of Hypsipyle's house for an erotic liaison can be seen as a mark of his maturation,[67] but in Lemnos a woman detains him from his expedition just as a woman tries to do in Iolkos. The reversal on Lemnos of the spatial sequence of departure from home (house, city, shore) also means that from the point of view of the voyage Lemnos is a dead end. The stop here, however, creates an interlude in which some fundamental Greek norms are simultaneously enacted and subjected to strain. Thus the definition of a normative Hellenism that began with the catalogue and the departure from Pagasae continues at Lemnos, but some of its basic categories are also destabilized. This combination of affirmation and questioning is typical of much of the *Argonautika*. The scenes in Greece (the mainland and the Aegean islands for present purposes)[68] set this pattern even before the *Argo* is out of Greek waters. Despite its location, however, Lemnos is an appropriate place for boundaries to be blurred. Until a relatively late date it was not felt as fully Greek, and in literature it was imagined as a place where the cultural and pre-cultural, Greek and barbarian, met.[69] There is thus some ambiguity in the ancestry of the colonists of Thera and Cyrene, and some ambiguity as well at the center of the space defined by the voyage of the *Argo*.

67. Beye 1982: 88–89.

68. The Aegean coast of Asia Minor is not given much attention in the poem. The Hellespont and the Propontis are transitional spaces, not alien like the Black Sea in the mythic time of the narrative nor completely Greek. The Adriatic is also presented as transitional (chap. 7), and Italy and Sicily also resist complete appropriation to Hellenism.

69. See Segal 1981: 207–14 and Janko 1992: 187–88 (on *Il.* 14.229–30). In Homer Lemnos is inhabited by the Sinties, who are once called *ἀγριοφώνοι* ("of savage speech," *Od.* 8.294). Cf. *Arg.* 1.608, 4.1759. According to Herodotus (6.137–40), it was settled by Pelasgians, who had been expelled from Athens, subsequently stole Athenian women and made them their concubines, and finally killed the women and the sons they had borne them in a male version of the crime of the Lemnian women. These Pelasgians drove out the grandsons of the Argonauts, who went to Sparta and then to Thera (Hdt. 4.145.2). Only in the late sixth century BCE were the Pelasgians dislodged when the Athenians took possession of the island. The Lemnian language may have been a dialect of Etruscan (cf. Thuc. 4.109, *Arg.* 4.1760). On Lemnos as transitional in the narrative between the Greek and non-Greek worlds, see the brief remarks of Stefanis 1993: 109.

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4

Colonial Spaces

The *Argo*'s voyage takes in a number of places that were to be the sites of Greek colonies.[1] In such cases, the narrative asks the reader both to imagine these places in their pre-colonial state and to read the Argonauts' actions there through the frame of their later role as constituent elements of a wider Greek world than the Greek peninsula and the Aegean Sea. Those actions are often archetypal for Greek colonization, and therefore *aitia* are prominent in the narratives of the pauses at such sites. Here the spatio-temporal structure of the *aition* is especially clear. The Argonauts' interactions with local people on these sites often prepare the way for colonization and alter the course of the places' history. That is, these proto-colonial narratives show particularly well the dynamics of place as, in Massey's terms (chap. 1), the point of intersection of different trajectories and of previously independent stories to produce a new story and a new set of relations. And they furnish excellent examples of the poem's production of space predominantly—although not always entirely—from a Greek point of view.

This chapter examines three major episodes at future colonial sites as spatial narratives. Even though it comes very late in the poem, the Argonauts' involuntary sojourn at the Syrtis in northern Africa

1. Moreau (2000b) discusses the development of the Argonautic myth under the influence of Greek colonization and advances in geographical knowledge, from the Bronze Age through the fourth century BCE. I focus here on how Apollonius represents colonization within his poem and so how he uses for new purposes the tradition whose evolution Moreau outlines.

near the eventual site of the important Greek colony of Cyrene is paradeigmatic of the production of space. It also completes the story begun at Lemnos, which was discussed in chapter 3, and it involves the history-to-be of Thera as well, which, according to Herodotus (4.145–47), was colonized from Sparta by the grandsons of the Argonauts and the Lemnian women. The other two large-scale narratives to be discussed here are those set at Kyzikos on the south coast of the Propontis and at the Acherousian promontory on the southern coast of the Black Sea, which was to be the location of Heraclea Pontica. Both involve, in contrasting ways, the Argonauts' dealings with local people, and *aitia* figure prominently in both.

The Syrtis, the Cyrenaica, and Thera

If one were to imagine a pristine and pre-cultural space, it would probably look like this (4.1245–49):[2]

> *οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηὸς ὄρουσαν, ἄχος δ' ἕλεν εἰσορόωντας*
> *ἠέρα καὶ μεγάλης νῶτα χθονὸς ἠέρι ἶσα*
> *τηλοῦ ὑπερτείνοντα διηνεκές· οὐδέ τιν' ἀρδμόν,*
> *οὐ πάτον, οὐκ ἀπάνευθε κατηυγάσσαντο βοτήρων*
> *αὔλιον, εὐκήλῳ δὲ κατείχετο πάντα γαλήνῃ.*
>
> They rushed from the ship, and grief seized them as they looked upon
> air and the back of the great earth resembling the air,[3]
> stretching unbroken into the distance. No watering-place,
> no path did they catch sight of, no steading of livestock
> in the distance. All was in the grip of unmolested peace.

We observe this wasteland through the Argonauts' eyes, and our understanding of it is colored by their grief. What causes their despair? This is a disorienting place.[4] Not only are there no markers of horizontal direction, but there is also

2. See also Williams' more detailed reading of this passage, with different emphases from mine (1991: 163–68). In particular, as she points out, the descriptions of this landscape systematically invert natural elements.

3. I follow the translation in Vian and Delage 2002: III, 123, "semblable au ciel," and Livrea's interpretation (1973: 350): Apollonius "sembra aver voluto sottolineare la somiglianza dello sconfinato deserto con il cielo." But the meaning could also be "coextensive with the air," i.e., stretching to the horizon. Either way, the land's vast emptiness is stressed. There is a strange resonance between this line and 3.207.

4. A reason for this disorientation from the perspective of spatial theory is suggested by Tuan 1977: 36. Being in command of space or feeling at home in it means that "the objective reference points in space, such as landmarks and the cardinal positions, conform with the intention and coordinates of the human body." But when the two are disjoined, such as when we are lost in a wood (his example) or, as here, there are no objective reference points, the result is disorientation. If an external indicator of direction is restored (a light appears through the trees, a horse leaves hoofprints in the sand), then space regains its structure.

no difference between earth and sky that would give a sense of up and down.[5] And there are no marks of human culture: no source of water to sustain life and make farming and herding possible, no paths worn by people moving from place to place, no shelter that would indicate the herding of livestock. There are not even wild animals or birds, just sand stretching to the horizon, as insubstantial and hazy with distance as the air (4.1239–40: *ἠερίῃ . . . ἄμαθος*).[6]

In keeping with these surroundings, once they are on land and have been told by Ankaios that it is impossible to refloat their beached ship, the Argonauts regress culturally. They wander off in different directions and lie in the sand, their heads wrapped in their cloaks, without food or water, during the night and all the next day, in expectation of a miserable death (4.1293–96). They are dispersed and solitary. By covering their heads, they cut themselves off from even the sight of one another; their society has disintegrated into a scattering of helpless individuals,[7] like the inhabitants of a city on the brink of destruction (the simile in 4.1280–87). It takes Jason's prodigious shout after the Libyan Heroines have appeared to him to bring them together again; and this time not a simile but a *dis*-simile marks their reintegration. They are *not* like the cattle and herdsmen who cower in terror at a lion's roar (4.1337–44), but instead they

5. For a suggestion that the desert has a metapoetic significance, see Hunter 2008b: 122–25: the episode "may be seen as an extended exploration of the limits of epic." On several occasions when I gave an oral version of this chapter, audience members asked if *διηνεκές* at 4.1247 might contain a reference to contemporary discussions of poetics in view of Callimachus's use of the word at the beginning of his *Aitia* (fr. 1.3 Pfeiffer). The kind of poem he describes with it, and rejects, would be as vast, formless, and without order as the Libyan desert. This suggestion is consistent with the way Apollonius uses the word elsewhere of speech that is rejected because excessive or superfluous (1.649, 2.391, 3.401). Of its other occurrences in the poem, 2.480 does not refer to speech, and 1.847 describes the completeness of Jason's reporting to the Argonauts what Hypsipyle said to him; but it may mark the distance between him and the narrator, who does not recount his speech and is thus not speaking *διηνεκές* although he has earlier given us Hypsipyle's words in direct speech. If there is a metapoetic reference in the word, it is to an Alexandrian aesthetic that values the opposite: order, clear form, and boundedness. Once again, then, a spatialized poetics, consistent with the sustained analogy between the *Argo*'s voyage and the poem (chap. 2). I discuss Apollonius's relation to that aesthetic in chap. 8. Cf. Hunter 1993: 193; 2008b: 127–35. For rather different views, see DeForest 1994: 133–34 and van Tress 2006.

6. Possible meanings of *ἠερίῃ* are: (1) like the sky; (2) as vast as the sky (either or both of these two meanings would make it equivalent to *ἠέρι ἶσα* in line 1246); (3) "misty" or "hazy," as in 1.580. In my paraphrase I have tried to include all these possibilities. At an early stage of human culture, when Sesostris was about to embark on his conquests, Egypt was called Ἠερίη (4.267, 270), so that there may be an overtone of "primitive" in the word here. That is, pre-cultural space, or land before it is colonized, is perceived as indefinite and directionless; when it is appropriated for a culture and settled, it takes on definition. A striking example is the oracle said to be given to Archilochus's father Telesikles, commanding the Parians to send a colony to Thasos: *ἄγγελον Παρίοις, Τελεσίκλεες, ὥς σε κελεύω / νήσῳ ἐν Ἠερίῃ κτίζειν εὐδείελον ἄστυ* ("announce to the Parians, Telesikles, that I command you to found a sunny city on the Misty Island": Parke and Wormell 1956, II: #230, quoted by Dougherty 1993: 150–51). Cf. Malkin 1994: 95–98, on names of colonies, especially his suggestion that "Thera" (place of wild beasts") was the original name of that island, which was renamed "Kalliste" ("most beautiful") after it was colonized from Sparta; and recall the importance of place names in cultural definitions of space (see chap. 1).

7. Cf. Griffiths 1990: 30. Clare (2002: 153–54) notes the contrast between Ankaios's discouragement here and his initiative after Tiphys's death. Given the *Argo*'s portrayal as a microcosm of Greek society, the helmsman's surrender of control is another sign of political disintegration.

gather in an assembly (*ἠγερέθοντο*, 4.1344), reconstituting their society amid this undifferentiated waste, human rather than animal.[8]

Their status as a functioning society restored, the Argonauts now, in collaboration with the gods, perform the work of culture on the land, at least symbolically. The gods send signs, and the mortals interpret them.[9] The Libyan Heroines give Jason instructions in enigmatic terms; their imitation of the *Odyssey*'s Sirens at the beginning of their speech (4.1319–21; cf. *Od.* 12.189–91) has considerable point in the reworking of the Homeric passage. Here the choice is not between hearing and not hearing these singers, but between successfully interpreting their riddle and failing to do so. Like staying to hear the Sirens, however, misinterpreting the Heroines' verbal signs would result in being stranded and dying cut off from human society. Jason calls his men to assembly in hopes that together they can find an "indication [*tekmôr*] of a safe return" (4.1335–36: *τέκμωρ . . . κομιδῆς*). When a horse comes out of the sea and gallops across the land, its emergence means, as Peleus realizes, that in the terms of the Heroines' riddle, Amphitrite has loosed the team from Poseidon's chariot (4.1325–26, 1370–71). Its appearance is thus a marker of time that ends the stasis of the Argonauts' mourning. Its tracks mark the desert landscape with a sign of direction; as Peleus says, they will "serve as a sign [*sêma*]" (*σημανέειν*, 4.1379) of the way to the coast and navigable waters.[10] Imprinting this trackless waste with signs of living presence and movement from place to place that impose intelligible meaning on it is archetypal for the cultural production of space. It is the god's horse that physically leaves the tracks, but they would not have this significance without human interpretation. When the Argonauts follow the hoofprints, these form a path. Thus undifferentiated time and space have now been given shape. The land around the Great Syrtis, from a desert waste, has become a place with an associated narrative of the Argonauts' danger and deliverance; and by means of this new path it is related to another place: Lake Tritonis and the seacoast, location of the Garden of the Hesperides with its golden apples, near the later town of Euhesperides,[11] which would in turn be supplanted, around the middle of the

8. On this contrast between the Argonauts' dispersal and the assembly, see also Clare 2002: 223. Hunter (1993: 154–55) notes that "it would be both easy and attractive to read the Argonauts' Libyan adventures in book 4 as a kind of allegory of the Alexandrian Greeks lost in the cultural desert of North Africa," saved when they reach the sea that was fundamental to definitions of Hellenism and sustained by the Greek institutions of gift exchange and sacrifice. But I think that even before they reach the sea, the definition of space and the reconstitution of the Argonauts' society assert Greek identity *in the face of* this "cultural desert."

9. Asper (2008: 175) makes an interesting suggestion about a possible "poetological" significance, whereby the Heroines' riddle is a model of the encoding and interpreting of linguistic signs.

10. Clare (2002: 151–52, 159) also notes briefly the disorienting effect of the landscape and then the horse's tracks as a sign of direction.

11. On the location of Lake Tritonis, see Malkin 1994: 198–99, who also points out that according to Timaeus the tripod given by Euphemos to Triton, inscribed with archaic lettering, was to be seen at Euhesperides.

third century BCE, by the town of Berenike, named for the wife of Ptolemy III Euergetes.[12]

This foundation was only the latest move in Greek claims to the Cyrenaica that began with the settlement of Greeks in the area late in the seventh century BCE,[13] which in turn is anticipated within the narrative of the *Argonautika*. When the Argonauts lift the *Argo* onto their shoulders and—following Peleus's interpretation of the Heroines' injunction to repay their mother for her labor in bearing them—carry it in the horse's tracks over the land, they seem to be defining this North African space in Greek terms. From now on this space will be associated with the narrative of their achievement in transporting the ship, and this memory of their deed will authorize the later Greek appropriation of the land. That is no doubt why the narrator goes out of his way to mark the exploit as heroic by referring the story to the authority of the Muses ("in all truth [*πανατρεκές*] I heard this divine utterance [*ὀμφή*]"), and then by addressing his heroes as "by far the greatest of the sons of kings" (*ὦ πέρι δὴ μέγα φέρτατοι υἷες ἀνάκτων*, 4.1381–83).[14]

But it is not narrative by itself that imposes a Greek meaning on this landscape, but narrative combined with symbolic action by the Argonauts. I have emphasized that the *Argo* is a piece of Greek space. When the Argonauts carry it over the Libyan land, the ship becomes specifically associated with Greek earth, as the language of the Heroines' riddle, repeated twice for emphasis, suggests (4.1324–29; cf. 1353–56, 1372–74):

ἀλλ' ἄνα, μηδ' ἔτι τοῖον ὀιζύων ἀκάχησο·
ἄνστησον δ' ἑτάρους· εὖτ' ἂν δέ τοι Ἀμφιτρίτη
ἅρμα Ποσειδάωνος ἐύτροχον αὐτίκα λύσῃ,
δή ῥα τότε σφετέρῃ ἀπὸ μητέρι τίνετ' ἀμοιβὴν
ὧν ἔκαμεν δηρὸν κατὰ νηδύος ὕμμε φέρουσα·
καί κεν ἔτ' ἠγαθέην ἐς Ἀχαιίδα νοστήσαιτε.

Up with you! No longer grieve like this in your misery.
Get your comrades moving. Whenever Amphitrite
unyokes Poseidon's well-wheeled chariot,
then pay your mother recompense
for her labors in carrying you in her belly.
Then you might still come home to holy Achaia.

12. Probably around the same time, Barca, to the Northeast of Euhesperides, was renamed Ptolemais and Taucheira, on the coast, was renamed Arsinoe. These changes, which suggest Ptolemaic claims and/or patronage, may postdate the *Argonautika* somewhat, but Cyrene and its region had been important to the Ptolemies from the start. A contemporary reader of the poem would have understood this whole episode from the perspective of Ptolemaic hegemony over the area as the goal toward which events narrated in the poem point. On the importance of this to the *Argonautika*'s program of giving the Greeks a new spatial center in Alexandria and naturalizing their presence there, see Stephens 2008.

13. For a recent account of the Greek colonization in Libya, see Austin 2008, with bibliography. See also Malkin 1994: 143–52, 169–81.

14. On this passage as an example of the interdependence of toil and heroic fame, see Pietsch 1999: 80.

The maternal associations are obvious: the hollow ship's hull as the belly or womb, the labors as those of childbirth as well as those of transporting the Argonauts.[15] But the earth as mother is a frequent metaphor in Greek poetry,[16] and it is then possible to speak of repaying a debt of nurture to the land of one's polis.[17] Earlier in the poem, the earth's nurturing function was personified at Kyzikos by the Great Mother, whose Asiatic cult was assimilated to Greek cult in an appropriative move with colonialist implications, as I argue later in this chapter. So here, for the Argonauts to carry what is, by metaphorical association, a representation of Greek earth over this desert is to give the land spatial orientation in Greek terms in a way that anticipates the founding of Cyrene.[18] For what is the establishment of a colony if not to superpose a Greek organization of space on an alien landscape? One has only to think of the account in the *Odyssey* of the Phaiakians founding their city, which obviously refers to contemporary Greek colonization, and of the description of the city's spatial organization, which resembles that of a polis.[19]

As the *Argo* nurtures her sailors and the polis her citizens, so the island of Thera and, by extension, the land of Cyrene will nurture their Greek inhabitants. That seems to be part of the implication of the strange dream that Euphemos has later (4.1731–45) near the place in the Aegean Sea where the island of Thera is to spring up from the clod of Cyrenean earth that Triton gave him.[20] To put the dream into a wider context before discussing it, we should notice that there is a strongly marked parallelism between the Argonauts' experiences in the Libyan desert, which culminate in Euphemos receiving the clod, and those back in Greek waters near the future site of Thera, which end with his throwing the clod into the sea. The night before, an enveloping darkness shrouded them, so impenetrable that they could not see the moon or stars, signs of direction, and they did not know if they were sailing in Hades or at sea. Navigation was out of the question, and they "entrusted their homecoming to the sea" (4.1694–1701). In answer to Jason's prayer, Apollo descended and held up his golden bow, whose gleam lit up the area and allowed the Argonauts to see a nearby island and to make their way to it. They called the island Anaphe, a name that Apollonius associates with the verb *ἀναφαίνω* (*anaphaino*, "reveal," 4.1717–18—a good example of a place name encoding an aetiological narrative).

15. For *νηδύς*, "belly," as womb, cf. especially Hes. *Theog.* 460; *Il.* 24.496.

16. Cf. duBois 1988: 39–64.

17. Aesch. *Sept.* 17–20, 477, 548. Cf. *Ag.* 1159; *Cho.* 66 (earth as nurse).

18. For further dimensions of meaning in the condensed symbolism of this portage, especially its function as "a colonizing aition, an explanatory account that recasts a traditional Egyptian ritual as the analogue of a labor that was originally performed by Greek heroes," see Mori 2008: 13–18 (quotation from 16). As Mori also points out (2), Pindar (*P.* 4.25–27) alludes to the portage only in passing—a fact that underscores Apollonius's elaboration of it and the importance he gives it.

19. *Od.* 6.9–10 (construction of a circuit wall, the laying out of the city within it by construction of houses and temples, and the division of farmland outside it), 262–67, 291–94.

20. On the clod as embodying a symbolic Greek claim to the Cyrenaica in both Pindar and Apollonius, see the excellent discussion by Stephens 2003: 178–82.

The disorienting darkness strongly resembles the Libyan desert as the Argonauts first encounter it,[21] and the pattern of spatial confusion followed by directional clarity links the two episodes, as do the clod itself and the reader's knowledge that Libya will be settled from Thera.

Euphemos dreams that he held the clod to his breast. It was drenched with streams of milk and turned into a maiden, with whom he then had intercourse. Afterward, he felt remorse at having had sexual relations with the daughter he had nourished with his own milk. The girl comforted him by saying, "I am of the blood of Triton, the nurse of your children, my friend, not your daughter. For Triton and Libya are my parents."[22] Thera will, of course, be the nurse of Euphemos's descendants in the first instance, but because the clod links this island with Libya, by association the North African land will be the nurse of the colonists: the clod is to the Therans as Libya is to the Greek settlers from Thera. The relation of foster children to nurse naturalizes, as far as can be done, the presence of colonists in a land with which they cannot claim a maternal relation, as Greeks can with their own poleis and as the Argonauts can with the *Argo*.

But the dream, understood as a symbolic representation of colonial relations, goes farther.[23] It depicts an act of nurture prior to the clod-woman's nursing of Euphemos's descendants: Euphemos's own "nursing" of the clod, which enables it to fulfill its destiny. This appropriation by the male of the female's function seems parallel to Zeus's swallowing of Metis into his belly/womb (*νηδύς*) in Hesiod's *Theogony* (886–900), which stakes an implicit claim to control over childbirth as well as language and cunning.[24] The dream serves a similar hegemonic purpose; it makes the life-sustaining functions of the colonized land (here Thera and by extension Cyrene) depend ultimately on the male colonizer, who enables the land to fulfill its destiny in supporting and familiarizing as inhabitants those who came originally as aliens.

21. Cf. Clare 2002: 160.

22. *Τρίτωνος γένος εἰμί, τεῶν τροφός, ὦ φίλε, παίδων, / οὐ κούρη· Τρίτων γὰρ ἐμοὶ Λιβύη τε τοκῆες* (4.1741–42).

23. For a different interpretation of the dream and the significance of the clod, see Calame 1990: 295–96. For the most part, his reading seems compatible with my own, although I would not follow him in limiting the significance of the clod to providing an *aition* for Thera ("At this point in Apollonius's scholarly narrative, the founding of Cyrene is no longer pertinent"). Giangrande (2000: 118–22) reads the dream in accordance with ancient theories of dream interpretation. The result is very different from what I offer here, but it would not rule out linking elements of the dream to larger themes of the poem, as I am doing. I doubt that in line 1742, *οὐ κούρη* would require a possessive pronoun in order to mean "[I am] not your daughter" rather than "I am not a maiden [but a goddess]." The rest of the line (*Τρίτων γὰρ ἐμοὶ Λιβύη τε τοκῆες*) makes it easy to supply "your." For Giangrande, the point of "I am not a maiden" is that Artemidorus says that to dream of copulating with a virgin promises a *κέρδος* ("gain"), so that the phrase is one of the inauspicious elements sent by Hermes to interfere with the essentially auspicious dream sent by Apollo (this on the basis of a tenuous chain of inferences from the reference to Hermes in line 1733). But *κέρδος* is exactly what comes to Euphemos, and even if Giangrande is right about Hermes' role here (doubtful in my view) this would not be merely a deceptive dream but a false one. But Giangrande bases his approach on the Stoic belief that dreams were faithful predictors of the future and interprets the other two dreams in the *Argonautika* accordingly. Although *κούρη* can be ambiguous, in context the phrase is more likely to mean "I am not [your] daughter."

24. Bergren 1983: 73–75. Lactating males do, however, figure in Egyptian myth (Stephens 2008: 112).

Euphemos's copulation with the clod-maiden expresses a similar meaning. As Carol Dougherty points out, marriage and rape are powerful metaphors for colonization. Behind them is the Greek habit of casting marriage in agricultural terms by which the male plows the (female) land to produce legitimate offspring.[25] In a colonial context, sexual intercourse through marriage or rape is a figure for the transformation of a void and barren tract into a domesticated and bounteous land, just as the female is acculturated, tamed, and made fertile in marriage. As marriage is regarded as the goal and completion of the female's life, so colonization is depicted through the metaphor of marriage as the natural outcome for the newly opened territory. And as marriage gives the woman a social being, so colonization gives the land an identity where before it had none; the existence of previous inhabitants, for example, is often effaced in colonial narratives. Thus marriage depicts colonization as harmonious union for the sake of social and biological reproduction, whereas rape acknowledges its actual violence.[26] Euphemos's intercourse with the Libyan earth personified as a maiden fits this pattern and expresses the same ideas.[27] It is parallel to the horse's tracks in the desert and the Argonauts' portage following those tracks, which also acculturate a void region for Greek habitation.

Moreover, because the *Argo* is the Argonauts' mother in the terms of the Heroines' riddle, carrying it over barren land might represent a symbolic fructifying act parallel to intercourse: as the ship has nurtured the Argonauts, so this land will nourish its Greek settlers. This meaning would be reinforced if I am right about the *Argo* representing Greek earth in this episode. In any case, the metaphor shifts from marriage to maternity, but the significance is the same. Thus in the complex of Thera and Libya, colonization is figured through Greek conceptualizations of the female in three aspects: as girl initiated into sexuality, marriage, and an adult social role; as mother; and as nurse of children. The male is depicted as completing the female's potential for fertility and as taming and controlling her either through marriage and intercourse or by appropriating her powers. Thus the production of space from a Greek perspective is particularly clear when it is bound up with colonization. Like colonization, it involves the imposition of Greek categories, in this case metaphors that figure space in the terms of Greek ideas of gender and sexuality.

On the other hand, the text stresses a difference between the categories of nurse and of wife or mother. Euphemos's fear that he has committed incest is

25. Dubois 1988: 39–85.

26. These statements are based on Dougherty 1993: 61–80. Cf. Dougherty 2001: 130–40 (on the *Odyssey*); Stephens 2003: 184–85, 191–94, particularly her discussion of how colonists figure their contact with local peoples as an erotic encounter between a male newcomer and an indigenous female.

27. Is it marriage or rape? It may not be necessary to decide precisely, but ζευξάμενος, "yoking," at 4.1739 evokes a common Greek metaphor for marriage. It also implies the taming and control that are essential to Greek ideas about both marriage and colonization and helps make the connection between Euphemos's act of intercourse and colonization.

deflected by the denial of a blood relationship between him and the girl, who emphasizes her descent from the sea-god Triton and the eponymous nymph of Libya (4.1738–42). Her true relation to him is not marriage but her destined nursing of his children. Nursing serves here as a metaphor for the colonizers' position with regard to the land rather than marriage because it is a familial but still not a kinship relation, as wife or mother is. This is demanded by the situation. The clod, a piece of Libyan earth, gives rise to an island in the Greek Aegean, but also expresses the fitness of a Greek appropriation of Libya. If Libya were the mother of Euphemos's descendants, they would not be Greek, and if she were Euphemos's daughter, they would be the product of incest, too closely involved in networks of kinship. Nursing expresses exactly the needed combination of intimacy and distance. It cannot, however, naturalize the presence of Greek settlers in a colonized land to the degree that metaphors of sexuality can. It thus introduces something new into Greek colonial narratives, to which the Libyan and Theran episodes in the *Argonautika* otherwise bear a close relation.[28] The metaphor of the *Argo* as mother expresses the relation of the Argonauts to the land of their native poleis. The explicit overriding in Euphemos's dream of marriage as the controlling metaphor for Greek colonization in favor of nursing, when put beside the significance of the *Argo*, expresses a sense of strangeness in colonial situations that evidently was not typical of Greek perceptions in earlier periods. I suggest that this small but irreducible distance reflects feelings of displacement that were part of the Greek experience of the new conditions created by the conquests of Alexander (see chap. 8).

Still, despite this hint of strangeness accompanying appropriation, the general tendency of these two linked episodes is to domesticate the foreignness of an alien land through the imposition of Greek spatial definitions. That is especially the function of the *Argo* and the meanings it carries. The clod performs the complementary role of guaranteeing the Greeks' right to nurture in Libya. It also helps to relate Thera and Libya to one another, linking them as places along with the two journeys between them. By a logic of reversibility, the Argonauts' voyage from Libya to Thera will be duplicated by, and is a prototype of, their descendants' movement in the opposite direction, which will fulfill the appropriative gesture of carrying the *Argo* over the Libyan land by actually settling that land. The clod, a piece of Libyan earth, gives rise to an island in the Greek Aegean, but (again by a logic of reversibility) expresses the fitness of Greek appropriation of Libya.[29] This too has obvious implications for the Greeks in nearby Egypt under the Ptolemies.

28. One sign of this innovation is the difference between Apollonius and Pindar in their treatments of this myth. In Pindar (*P.* 4.38–43), the clod, rather than becoming the island of Thera, is washed overboard from the *Argo* near the already existing island. There is thus no possibility for the clod itself to be seen as nurse of Euphemos's descendants.

29. On the "legitimating" function of the clod, see Malkin 1994: 178–80.

The transport of the *Argo* over dry land on the Argonauts' shoulders recalls the launching of the ship at Iolkos, and like that earlier account it raises the issue of the relation of earth and water. The Libyan and Theran episodes are, in fact, full of the blending and potential confusion of these elements. In the description quoted earlier (4.1245–49), the land is not only indistinguishable from the air; it is also portrayed in terms that in epic are usually associated with the sea: "the back of the land" (*νῶτα χθονός*: the metaphorical use of "back" is limited to the sea in Homer, and elsewhere in Apollonius the word occurs solely in the literal sense), and the "peace" that has everything in its grip (*γαλήνη* is used in Homer to describe only the sea or calm winds at sea, as it does in its one other occurrence in Apollonius, 1.1156). The horse from the sea that leaves tracks on land crosses the boundary between these elements and evokes Poseidon's chariot, which, although it has a precedent in the *Iliad* (13.23–32), in this context becomes part of the pattern of their merging. Other examples are the Syrtis, which as a stagnant shallow is transitional between land and sea (4.1237–40); the spring that gushes out from a rock when Herakles kicks it; Lake Tritonis, landlocked water, but with an opening to the sea; the God Triton, who at first is disguised as a land-dwelling mortal but then appears in the lake in his true form, with a human torso and a fish's tail; and the clod that will become an island rising from the sea, or the girl it becomes in Euphemos's dream who will be nurtured by Nereids in the sea's depths.[30] Categories are blurred in other respects as well: the Hesperides' virtuoso display of shape shifting (4.1408–9, 1422–30), for example, or the comparison of the *Argo*'s wandering course in Lake Tritonis to the oblique slithering of a snake (4.1541–47).

Out of all this apparent confusion will come order and clarity, eventually in the form of Greek settlement in Libya and in the shorter term, as an anticipatory parallel, when the Argonauts find their way back to the coast and a clear direction home to Greece. When they are afloat on the lake, trying to "infer signs of a way [*poroi*]" (*πόρους ἀπετεκμαίροντο*, 4.1438) to the sea, their predicament repeats their disorientation when they first come to shore at the Syrtis. As there, they attain spatial clarity with divine aid; Triton's directions to the mouth of the lake parallel the horse's tracks in the sand. The Argonauts mark their emergence from this confusion to clarity by leaving signs of their presence. The harbor in which they moor, where land gives way to navigable sea, from now on is called the Harbor of *Argo*, and signs [*sêmata*] of the ship (*σήματα νηός*) are still visible, as are altars to Poseidon and Triton (4.1620–22).

A story of the sorting out of initial spatial disorientation and category confusion can be read from these signs on the landscape. What does it signify? With Stephens, we can understand the emergence of land from watery chaos in

30. Cf. Calame 1990: 295. On the fluidity of the distinction between land and sea in Pindar's *Pythian* 4, see Segal 1986: 78–85.

the story of Thera as suggesting the evolution of order in Egyptian cosmology, or more generally we can see with her the collapse of categories as prefiguring and making possible the establishment of a new order (ultimately the foundation of Cyrene) in a pattern that may have reflected the experience of contact between Greeks and Egyptians as Ptolemaic rule was being established.[31] This pattern of order emerging from chaos, Dougherty argues, is characteristic of Greek colonial narratives. It is encapsulated by the ambiguity of Delphic oracles that describe the places where Apollo tells oikists to found colonies in riddling terms: puns and metaphors that blur category boundaries. These riddles are then interpreted correctly in a way that restores boundaries and puts things in their proper order.[32] The counterpart in Apollonius is the Libyan Heroines' riddle and its interpretation, as well as the horse's tracks. I would say also that, by means of this pattern, the Libyan and Theran episodes show the production of space as a process, a work of human culture that imposes definition on the indefinite and unbounded. Cosmogonic myth, reconceptions of spatial order in response to cultural contact, and colonial narratives are all forms of this production of space. Definitions of space are never neutral; they always are constructed in accordance with a certain perspective, as the production of colonial space in Apollonius's account of North Africa clearly shows, with the imposition of Greek cultural categories on a space imagined initially as deserted and void.

Because the Syrtis episode is paradeigmatic both of the way human culture transforms empty, pre-cultural space into a spatial signifying system and of the way a given culture creates its own particular meanings spatially, it is fitting that Herakles should make a final appearance here to set off once again the Argonauts' orderly construction of space with his own unsystematic consumption of it. When they have finished portaging their ship to Lake Tritonis, the Argonauts go in search of water and find the Hesperides mourning the serpent that Herakles killed the day before to get the golden apples (4.1393–1407). Several of them set out in search of him. Only the superhumanly far-seeing Lynkeus catches sight of him, or thinks he does, across "the boundless land" (4.1478), walking onward as he is fated always to do—where? Evidently toward his eventual apotheosis, but the text leaves his destination unclear. As before, he passes through space without marking it. Blown by the winds overnight, the sands have obliterated his footprints (4.1463–64). Their disappearance gives the Argonauts no directional guide, no sign for finding him in a land now perceived once again as "boundless" (4.1478) and undefined, whereas the horse's

31. Stephens 2003: 209 and 194 respectively. There is a parallel in Greek thought as well. Discussing the emergence of Thera in Pindar's *Pythian* 4 and similar myths in two other odes, Segal says, "in all three odes this parturient emergence from darkness and chaos . . . is the grand mythical model for the human creation of political order, heroic deeds, victory in the games, and the immortalizing power of poetry" (1986: 96).

32. Dougherty 1993: 45–60.

prints, by leading them in the direction of the sea, have given them spatial orientation. Unlike Herakles, the Argonauts produce space.

Not that Herakles' presence, though fleeting, has had no effect. Characteristically, he prepares the way for the Argonauts. Thirsty after his exploit, he made a spring gush forth from a rock with a kick of his foot. This spring then serves the Argonauts, who exclaim, "Wonderful! Even from afar Herakles saved his comrades when they were suffering from thirst" (4.1458–59). His ad hoc self-provisioning benefits the community of Argonauts who come after him, just as his killing of the snake, which has cosmogonic overtones of the creation of order by the defeat of disorder as in Apollo's slaying of the Python or Kadmos's killing of the Theban serpent,[33] removes a monstrous presence from, and perhaps demystifies, the space that they then produce. His thirst and theirs are thus aroused by very different but complementary achievements. His task is to remove vestiges of a more primitive and disorderly world as a precondition for the communal enterprises of human culture, and that is why his and the Argonauts' relation to space is very different.[34]

There are, however, complications to this picture of successive labors in behalf of order. The Argonauts get help (information about the spring) from divine females who are indigenous to the land, as they did from the Libyan Heroines. But with the description of the Hesperides' mourning, the perspective shifts; from their point of view, Herakles is an intruder, beneficial to the Argonauts but to them "most vile" (ὁ *κύνατος*, literally "most dog-like," 4.1432–33), "murderous in his appearance and his violence" (*ὀλοώτατος ὕβριν / καὶ δέμας*, 4.1436–37). At least fleetingly, "Hera[k]les, the traditional bearer of a more civilized order, who clears the lands of monsters, is himself the monster,"[35] and so the cultural appropriation of this land involves disruption of an already established, pristine if "primitive," order. In addition, this whole episode strikingly recalls the Argonauts' unwitting abandonment of Herakles in book 1, most obviously because we are told Polyphemos's fate only now. Herakles may begin the "civilizing" mission that the Argonauts, to be followed by the Greek colonizers, complete, but their association with him always involves loss.

They lose not only him but also two more of their companions, and these deaths are highly significant in complicating the colonial narrative that frames

33. Fontenrose 1959: 13–27 (Apollo and Python), 306–20 (Kadmos).

34. It is symptomatic of this contrast that when the Argonauts overcome primitive monsters (the snake guarding the golden fleece, an obvious parallel to the guardian of the Hesperides' apples, and Talos), they do so with the aid of Medea's magic. This difference does not necessarily diminish them; they are meant for another kind of cultural work.

35. Stephens 2003: 187. Note also how the monster-slayer is reduced to a beast in the Hesperides' description of him on his stomach drinking from the spring: he is like a grazing animal (*φορβάδι ἶσος*, 4.1449). This ambivalence is then extended to the Argonauts. When they drink the narrative compares them to ants, possibly a symbol of communal industry, but also to flies buzzing around a drop of honey (4.1452–55), which recall the flies swarming around the serpent's rotting corpse (4.1405).

this episode. The circumstances of Kanthos's death—he is killed trying to take sheep from an indigenous herder, Kaphauros, in order to feed his comrades—recall the way Herakles acquired Hylas as a companion (1.1211–19). Herakles killed Hylas's father in order to stir up war with the lawless Dryopes in order to punish them; Kanthos is killed while trying to commit another act of violence against an inhabitant of this land.[36] So an Argonaut tries to imitate the hero of an earlier stage in the evolution of civilized order, both by an act of violent appropriation and by providing food for the Argonauts as Herakles provided water—and he fails. In addition, the sudden appearance of a local inhabitant interrupts the view of colonization as the transformation of a desert void into fertile land, which virtually demands the effacement of people already dwelling there.[37] Kanthos's attack on him and his killing by the other Argonauts (4.1498–99) acknowledge the violence inherent in colonization that otherwise is glossed over in colonial narratives.

Mopsos's death by snake bite, which recalls Idmon's killing by a boar during another proto-colonial narrative earlier in the poem (2.815–34), raises the question of how completely colonists can appropriate the land. Herakles conquers snakiness,[38] but Mopsos falls victim to it. And whereas Polyphemos got a tomb that served as a sign (*σῆμα*) of his presence in an alien land (4.1476), the Argonauts merely heap earth over Mopsos's body (4.1536), and Kanthos's burial gets a bare mention (4.1500). Thus even in an episode so assertive of Greek colonial control, there are limits to the Argonauts' ability to shape space according to their cultural categories of civilization as opposed to wildness.

At the same time, these problems can also be read as showing the need to domesticate this place and as depicting the Greeks as bearers of civilization. Whichever way we choose to interpret them, the overwhelming emphasis of the Libyan and Theran episodes is on a positively evaluated construction of space that is intimately linked to colonization. These episodes play a key role in the *Argonautika*, not only because of the clarity with which they show the Argonauts' spatial practice in investing alien space with Greek meanings, but also because colonization itself is basic to the poem. The typical colonial narrative, as Carol Dougherty has described it,[39] is one of the patterns informing the plot of the poem. A problem at home in the form of political discord (Pelias's

36. At the same time, Kaphauros's family history anticipates the charter myth of the founding of Cyrene: Minos sent his daughter, pregnant by Apollo, to North Africa from Crete, and there she bore a son, just as the nymph Cyrene will bear Aristaios to Apollo here (4.1489–94). Kaphauros is naturalized through his mother, a daughter of Triton, and is in the position of defending himself against an intruder to the land; the violence between him and Kanthos and his subsequent killing by the other Argonauts seem paradoxical from the perspective of Cyrene's foundation story.

37. Dougherty 1993: 74. On perceptions of a land's "emptiness" in colonial thinking, see also Malkin 1994: 96–97.

38. He does so, moreover, with arrows dipped in the gall of the snaky monster, Hydra (4.1403–4).

39. Dougherty 1993: 15–30.

dynastic ambitions and fear of being overthrown) or ritual impurity (the attempted sacrifice of Phrixos and Helle) leads to the sending out of part of the population after a consultation of Apollo at Delphi and then the founding of a colony. There are differences, however. Jason does consult the Delphic oracle, but the god does not command him to settle in another land; instead, he promises to help Jason and gives him two tripods. Because Euphemos gives one tripod to Triton in exchange for the clod, it plays a role in the colonial process. Apollo is thus involved in it, although less directly than usual, and he will take a direct part when he commands Battos to settle in Libya. He of course cannot tell Jason to found a colony because the Argonauts must return to Iolkos. This is a significant departure from the colonial narrative, in which the colonists cannot return to the mother city. When the first Theran expedition to Cyrene tried to return home, the Theraians would not let them land, no doubt fearing a repetition of the troubles that had led to sending out the colonists (Hdt. 4.156). The Argonauts return because the colonial narrative is intertwined with the story of the heroic quest, which demands the return of the hero. But the ultimate outcome conforms to the spirit, if not the letter, of the colonial narrative in that Jason's return leads to disaster: the killing of Pelias and the horrible events in Corinth.

Recognizing the importance of the colonial narrative in helping to shape the *Argonautika*'s story helps us to appreciate all the more how centrally concerned the poem is with the production of space, because the essence of the colonial enterprise is to define colonized space by means of the colonizing culture's categories, with the use of narrative as well as in other ways. The whole Argonautic voyage is structured as though it were in some sense a colonizing enterprise, and not only because the Argonauts visit so many places destined to be the sites of Greek colonies. Lemnos, Thera, and Libya, as places, are brought into relation with each other by the Argonautic voyage as links in a causal chain. Almost at the beginning of their itinerary the Argonauts' involvement with the women of Lemnos, where they explicitly decline to settle,[40] puts events in motion that will lead to the colonizing of places they visit near its end. The settlement of Libya thus comes to seem the *telos* or goal of the whole voyage. This speaks directly to the situation of Apollonius's Alexandrian readers, not only because Cyrene was an important part of the Ptolemaic empire but, more significantly, because there is a clear analogy between the Greeks' settlement

40. As Dougherty points out (1993: 38), there is a specific link to colonial narratives when Herakles, urging the Argonauts to leave Lemnos, asks, "is the shedding of kindred blood keeping us away from our homeland?" (1.865–66). He is alluding to a reason commonly given in these narratives for emigration and colonization. Of course, his question is rhetorical and the answer is obviously in the negative. That is, the colonial pattern is being rejected for Lemnos.

and mastery of Libya centuries before and their domination of nearby Egypt when the *Argonautika* was written and first read.[41]

Kyzikos

The Argonauts' stay at the site of Kyzikos forms the first major episode in the poem that is set outside Greek waters, as Libya is the last. It helps to set the pattern for the colonial appropriation of space, and its narrative is ostentatiously spatial. If Libya appears empty of inhabitants except for the unfortunate Kaphauros, this place is already inhabited by an organized society with its own king. Through no fault of their own, the Argonauts' relations with these people, at first cordial, turn out to be complicated. The Kyzikos episode is thus an outstanding example of the way a place is constituted by the intersection of different trajectories and subsequent relations are determined by their interactions, as Massey says.

Founded, or possibly refounded to replace an earlier Corinthian colony, by the Milesians in the eighth or seventh century BCE, and the site of an important cult of the Mother of the Gods, Kyzikos was one of the most significant and prosperous Greek commercial centers on the northern coast of Asia Minor, and in the Hellenistic period it ruled a large territory in Mysia.[42] Apollonius never mentions the city by name, although he alludes twice to its colonial future with the mention of "Ionians." Kyzikos is the name of the young local ruler who gives a friendly reception to the Argonauts, whom Jason kills in ignorance, and who becomes the eponym of the Greek city. No reader of the *Argonautika*, then or now, could be unaware of the later historical associations of this mountainous island, which was connected to the southern shore of the Propontis by a narrow isthmus and sloped sharply downward toward the mainland.[43] According to the poem, at the time of the Argonauts' visit the island was the abode of

41. A puzzling aspect of the Libyan episode is its apparently gratuitous nature, which Apollonius seems to emphasize even though he may be following Timaeus in the matter of contrary winds (*FGrH* 566 F 85 = Diod. 4.56.6). When the Argonauts leave the Phaiakians, the precedent of the *Odyssey* leads us to expect that their next stop will be home, Iolkos, and Apollonius seems to go out of his way to arouse that expectation (4.994–1000). Instead, a storm blows them off course to the Syrtis. The only reason that the narrator gives is that it was not fated (*αἶσμον*) for them to reach home "so that" (*ὄφρα*) they undergo further ordeals in Libya (4.1225–27). In this context, fate might mean several things in addition to a divinely ordained destiny for the Argonauts. It might, for instance, also mean the requirements of tradition, since previous versions of the story, most prominently Pindar's, had brought the Argonauts to Libya. It could also mean "the requirements of this poem" written in Ptolemaic Egypt and constructing a Greek-centered conception of space. In any event, presenting the episode as an arbitrary addition to the plot flags its significance, since it has to be included even at the expense of a natural development of the story. It also gives a teleological cast to Greek settlement of Cyrene.

42. Cult of the Mother: Hdt. 4.76; colony of Miletus: see Boardman 1980: 241; Broughton and Mitchell in *OCD*[3] s.v. Cyzicus. On the topography of Kyzikos, see de Rustafjaell 1902; Hasluck and Henderson 1904.

43. Whether in Apollonius's time Kyzikos was an island separated from the mainland by a narrow channel or a peninsula with a true isthmus, the channel having silted up, is disputed. See, e.g., Vian 1978. Apollonius calls it an island but also refers to an isthmus within the space of three lines (1.936–38).

six-armed giants, the Gegeneis ("Earth-born"), who lived separate from but without harming the Doliones, Kyzikos's people who inhabited the isthmus and the plain to the south (1.936–52).[44] The episode situated here is a splendid example of the double temporal focus with which the text invites us to read. We experience the island in its pre-Greek mystery and wildness. But the Argonauts' presence here will mark it and the Doliones' territory with lasting signs that will organize it in a way intelligible to Greeks, and the Argonauts' coming appears to readers aware of the later history as the first step toward the Ionian foundation because of their knowledge of that later history.

But this achievement of spatial clarity and the inscription of Greek culture on the landscape proceed by way of contradiction and confusion, and these things also leave spatial markings, so that the space produced here cannot be read simply as reflecting normative Greek culture. The representation of space that emerges from the episode is relatively coherent; as I argue, possible contradictions are controlled by, but by that very fact acknowledged in, cult and ritual. A number of oppositions structure the narrative: earth-born giants vs. ordinary mortals, monstrosity vs. human culture, mountain vs. plain, land vs. sea, local vs. regional, foreign vs. Greek. In each, the second element tends to be valorized by the end of the episode; but the oppositions blur at key points and the contrasting elements of each pair cannot be kept completely distinct. The most prominent opposition is one we have already observed in connection with Libya and Thera, between spatial disorientation and directional clarity, amorphous space and well-defined pathways.[45] It is most clearly expressed in the contrast between the dark night (as later at Anaphe) that, with tragic results, prevents the Argonauts and the Doliones from recognizing each other when contrary winds have blown the *Argo* back to Kyzikos, and the daylight view from the top of Mount Dindymon, which we discussed in chapter 1.

The Argonauts' reception by the Doliones and their ruler Kyzikos creates an outpost of Greek civility in this partly wild place. Kyzikos engages in the institution that the Greeks considered especially characteristic of their own culture, hospitality, or *xenia*. Kyzikos himself may have been partly of Greek extraction, his father Aineus having migrated from Thessaly and married the daughter of the king of the Thracians.[46] And the Doliones may also have been

44. Cusset 2004a: 33–35 well discusses the way the opposition between the Gegeneis and the Doliones is expressed spatially. Cf. Stefanis 1993: 110. My emphasis will be on the reconfiguring of this space by the Greeks' arrival. On the Gegeneis as "sea-gods" who control channels, and for a mythic reading of the story of the Argonauts at Kyzikos in which the king Kyzikos is an instance of the dying vegetation god, see Vian 1951.

45. Clare 2002: 68.

46. Schol. on 1.936–49p-q. Kyzikos's wife Kleite is non-Greek, the daughter of Merops of Perkote (schol. on 1.974–76a), whose sons were allies of Priam in the Trojan War (*Il.* 2.828–34).

Thessalian colonists in one of Apollonius's sources.[47] But perhaps in pointed contrast with other versions, all Apollonius says of their origin is that they were descended from Poseidon, who did not allow the Gegeneis to harm them (1.950–52), and so he suppresses any possible connection with the Greek homeland. Kyzikos gives the Argonauts hospitality not out of Greek custom or because of ethnic kinship but because he has had a prophecy that "when a godlike expedition of heroes comes," he should "greet them pleasingly and not concern himself with battle" (1.969–71).[48] The implication seems to be that he would otherwise have fought these strangers, perhaps out of the fear that he now puts aside (1.979). Jason's situation is like that of Odysseus at the home of Aiolos: outside the Greek world, with a host who does not seem Greek although he shares some Greek customs.[49] All of this points up the biggest contradiction underlying the entire episode: that the Argonauts, Greeks for whom hospitality is a religiously sanctioned duty, end up killing their hosts, whose Greek identity is downplayed or nonexistent but who give them hospitality in the Greek mode.[50] They commit this act in ignorance and after being attacked by the Doliones, who fail to recognize them. But the act itself, even though motivated by a mistake, makes impossible an uncomplicated construction of this place according to Greek cultural codes. It is as though civilized values, as the Greeks saw them, are asserted in this foreign place that encompasses the Gegeneis as well, but also find their limits here and cannot remain sealed off from their opposite. In the end, it is not the Gegeneis who harm the Doliones, but civilized Greeks.

Much of the Kyzikos episode is structured by a series of doublets: two landings, two ascents of Mount Dindyon, two battles, two episodes of contrary winds. Except in the case of the last pair, these show events duplicated between

47. Schol. on 1.961–63: *καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Δολίονες ἄποικοι Θετταλῶν εἰσι, διὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς ὁμοφύλους ἐδέξαντο* ("for the Doliones are colonists of the Thessalians, and so they received them [the Argonauts] as being of the same race"). The latter statement is mistaken as regards Apollonius; Kyzikos receives the Argonauts hospitably because he has been warned to do so by an oracle—a detail Apollonius would not have had to manufacture (as he presumably did) if he wanted us to think of the Doliones as Thessalian. Note that the information in the scholion just quoted is not explicitly attributed to Deiochus, a local chronicler of Kyzikos whom Apollonius seems to have followed in the main outlines of much of his narrative, although a debt to him here may be implied by the statement in the scholion on 1.1037–38b that he followed Deiochus and not Ephorus. On Apollonius's use of his sources in this episode, see Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: I, 29–34; Clauss 1993: 148–50.

48. I have a different impression of the prophecy from Clauss 1993: 152, who says that it predicts "that Cyzicus will die at the hands of a *θεῖος στόλος*." On the uncertainties surrounding this prophecy, see Byre 2002: 30.

49. The storm that drives the Argonauts back to Kyzikos is clearly modeled on the storm that drives Odysseus back to Aiolos after his men open the bag of winds. By contrast, their initial landing at a spring called Artakie and the attack by the Gegeneis allude to the Laistryonian episode in the *Odyssey*. See Clauss 1993: 159–64 (with other Odyssean parallels). The combination of models brings together savagery and civility.

50. Textually, this contradiction is marked at 1.1018, where the Doliones, when the Argonauts are blown back to their land by the storm, are given the epithet *ἐυξείνοισι*, "kindly to strangers." It stands out all the more because in other versions of the story (those of Ephoros and Kallisthenes) the Doliones were hostile to the Argonauts and attacked them (schol. on 1037–38b). For discussion see Delage 1930: 108–12.

the west and east sides of the peninsula.[51] Events thus are grouped spatially. A related feature of the episode is that it includes a remarkably large number of *aitia*.[52] These too are distributed spatially and fall into three groups. Those on the west side of the island commemorate the Argonauts' landing and their reception by Kyzikos, those on the east side the death of Kyzikos, and those on Mount Dindymon the foundation of the cult of the Great Mother. Taken together, these *aitia* inscribe on space virtually the whole narrative of the Argonauts' actions at this site. But that narrative, as we have just seen, is complex in its implications.

The Argonauts first put to shore on the western side of the island at a place called Καλὸς Λιμήν—Fair Haven or (if this is not a proper name) a "good harbor" (1.954). There they leave their anchor-stone at a spring named Artakie, taking on board a heavier stone for this purpose. Now the first *aition* occurs (1.958–60):

> ἀτὰρ κεῖνόν γε θεοπροπίαις Ἑκάτοιο
> Νηλεΐδαι μετόπισθεν Ἰάονες ἱδρύσαντο
> ἱερόν, ἢ θέμις ἦεν, Ἰησονίης ἐν Ἀθήνης.
>
> But that stone, on the oracular command of Apollo,
> the Ionians descended from Neleus later established
> as a sacred offering, as was right, in the temple of Jasonian Athena.

Here is the first mention of Kyzikos's colonial foundation by the Ionians, who are called descendants of Neleus, ruler of Pylos, from where, according to tradition, they migrated fleeing the Dorians, passing through Athens and eventually founding cities in Asia Minor (including Miletus). The patronymic thus stresses their origin in the Peloponnesus and, through them, the future connection between this territory on the Propontis and the Greek homeland. Jason's stop at this harbor provides a sort of charter for the colony, as though he were establishing a paradigm for Greek migration and settlement, and as though, by leaving a token of his presence here, he were staking a claim to this place on behalf of Greece (or, as I would put it, producing this place as Greek space). The temporal scheme implied by these lines is significant to these spatial relationships and their meaning. In the present time of the narrative the Argonauts deposit their anchor stone here. At a later date the Ionians leave the mainland and settle in Asia Minor, and subsequently still they dedicate the stone in a temple they build for Athena, to whom they give the epithet "Jasonian" to commemorate her patronage of the *Argo*'s voyage. They make this

51. Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: I, 29. In addition changes of mooring-place occur on both sides, although in my view there are two such changes (and so three harbors) on the west and one change on the east. These doublets are actually part of a wider structure of ring composition formed by the stop at Samothrace and the Kyzikos episode: see Clauss 1993: 152–53.

52. On these *aitia*, see Fraser 1972: I, 628–30.

dedication on the advice of Apollo, whose oracle at Delphi played a major role in Greek colonial enterprises. Thus a stone, of no particular significance to the Argonauts, is later subsumed in Greek colonial activity and made one of its legitimating signs. All this is far in the past to a Hellenistic reader, for whom the Greek organization of space crystallized long ago but who can now see the process of producing space in the Propontis from the point of view of its beginning and end points. With the dedication of the stone and Athena's epithet, this place is given its narratives, part of the story that the *Argonautika* is now telling.

Next the Argonauts are received hospitably by Kyzikos, who persuades them to row the ship on to the city's harbor. There they build an altar to Apollo Ekbasios, Apollo as god of disembarkation. This altar will also imply a story: "here the Argonauts put to shore and were given hospitality by Kyzikos." It thus commemorates contact between the Greek newcomers and the local people. Such stories of friendly contact formed an important part of colonial narratives;[53] local people could be viewed as like the newcomers, colonization could be seen as a cooperative venture and a natural outcome of contact, and the new territory could appear as like the homeland and almost an extension of it. In fact this altar corresponds to the altar the Argonauts on their departure built at Pagasae to Apollo Embasios, god of embarkation (1.402–4), and it thus relates this place to Greece, marks this foreign city in a Greek way.

This perception of familiarity, however, is only one aspect of colonial experience. Another aspect is the opposite: the new land perceived as primitive and savage, and therefore in need of taming. It is this other dimension that is presented in the next stage of the story. When Kyzikos cannot give them information about the route beyond his land,[54] the next day Jason and some of his companions start to climb Mount Dindymon, leaving Herakles and a few others with the ship. The path they take is called the Jasonian Way—an *aition* whose exact point is hard to understand, because they turn back before reaching the summit. We can at least say, however, that it fits with the Argonauts' connection with pathways and with the creation of spatial order.[55]

While Jason and his men are ascending, Herakles and those left with him move the *Argo* from the city harbor to another one called Χυτὸς λιμήν, "Heaped Up Harbor," in preparation for resuming the voyage. There the Gegeneis attack

53. Cf. Dougherty 2001: 92–101, applying de Certeau 1988 to the *Odyssey*.

54. Here I cannot agree with Vian (Vian and Delage 2002: I, 96n4) that it is the area beyond the Propontis of which Kyzikos is ignorant: "Malgré les doutes du scholiaste, ἐπιπρό signifie 'au-delà de la Propontide,' et non 'au-delà de la Dolionie.'" There would then be no reason for the Argonauts to ascend Mount Dindymon. The scholiast (on 1.983b) is in no doubt about Kyzikos's ignorance of places beyond his territory in the Propontis.

55. If we press the logic of this *aition*, the name evokes the narrative of how Jason turned back in order to join a battle that was really Herakles' exploit (1.996–97), even though he evidently takes a belated part in it (1.998–1001). Jason has finer moments to commemorate. But if we see the abortive ascent as part of a narrative complex, paired with the abortive departure by sea and its deadly consequences, then the name points also toward the killing of Kyzikos, so that this *aition* contributes to the ambivalent memories of the Argonauts' stop here.

them.[56] These monsters personify the mysterious chthonic character of this land and its uncivilized and threatening aspects. Accordingly, their attack involves a remarkable spatial disruption, which consists in the blurring of the distinction between land and sea, just as in the Libyan desert. The Gegeneis try to trap the Argonauts by filling in the mouth of the harbor with stones (hence the harbor's name, for which the battle is thus the *aition*).[57] That is, these sons of the earth try to reclaim an area from the sea, as though they were trying to ambush a sea creature (1.991) by landlocking it. In addition, if ships and navigation represent a prime cultural activity, their interference in sailing is a resistance to human civilization. After they are killed, their corpses lie at the harbor's mouth half in and half out of the water (1.1006–11):

> ὣς οἱ ἐνὶ ξυνοχῇ λιμένος πολιοῖο τέταντο
> ἑξείης, ἄλλοι μὲν ἐς ἁλμυρὸν ἀθρόοι ὕδωρ
> δύπτοντες κεφαλὰς καὶ στήθεα, γυῖα δ' ὕπερθεν
> χέρσῳ τεινάμενοι· τοὶ δ' ἔμπαλιν αἰγialοῖο
> κράατα μὲν ψαμάθοισι, πόδας δ' εἰς βένθος ἔρειδον,
> ἄμφω ἅμ' οἰωνοῖσι καὶ ἰχθύσι κύρμα γενέσθαι.
>
> So they in the opening of the grey harbor lay stretched out
> in a row, some all together submerging their heads and chests
> in the briny water, spreading their lower limbs out
> on dry land; others, in reverse, rested their heads on the sand
> of the beach, and their feet in the deep sea,
> both alike to be fodder for birds and fish.

The bodies straddle the division between sea and land, in contrast to the trees that stand rooted on the shore, still on land, brought there by Orpheus's singing (1.28–31).[58] The union of land and sea is also suggested by the birds and fish that will feast on the corpses. In Homer, either dogs, or sometimes dogs and

56. I agree with Fitch 1912: 45–47 that this harbor is distinct from the city port, so that by this point in the narrative three harbors, not two, have been mentioned (so also apparently Clauss 1993: 160–61). Mooney 1912, on lines 954, 965, 987, Delage 1930: 100, and Vian 1978: 106 identify it with the city harbor. The arguments on both sides concern the topography of Kyzikos, as it was and as Apollonius conceived it, and textual difficulties in 1.986–87. Aside from these arguments, identifying the two harbors involves an untenable awkwardness in the narrative. At 1.964–65 the Doliones invite the Argonauts to move their ship into the city harbor; at 1.966 they build an altar to Apollo of Disembarkation there; but only at 1.986–87 is the actual change of harbors narrated! Calling this last sentence a parenthesis (Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: I, 262) only accentuates the problem. If three harbors are involved, all is in order. The text of 1.985–90 alternates between Jason's ascent of the mountain and the harbor in a paratactic ABAB pattern that has many precedents in archaic epic.

57. Schol. on 1.987a. The name might in actuality have referred to an artificial mole. But this harbor should not then be identified with the city harbor.

58. The dead Gegeneis also look forward to the warriors sprung from the earth when Jason sows the dragon's teeth, some of whom, when killed, are still partly in the ground and partly protrude from it (3.1381–85). There the boundary being blurred is between the earth's depths and its surface. The lines quoted in the text form the second half of a comparison of the Gegeneis' corpses to logs that woodcutters put in water so that the wood will hold pegs better. This simile is ambiguous: it can both suggest the superiority of cultural activity over nature (Williams 1991: 262–63) and "[derive] much of its strange and suggestive power from the contrast between the order and purposefulness of the activity described . . . and the random carnage of the scene at the harbor" (Byre 2002: 28).

birds, are said to do so (e.g., *Il.* 1.4–5), or fish and (sometimes) eels or seals (e.g., *Il.* 21.127, 203; *Od.* 15.480), but never land and sea animals together. Thus the name "Heaped Up Harbor" evokes not only the victory but also this spatial mixing.

A second group of *aitia* is connected with the Argonauts' return and their killing in battle of Kyzikos and other Doliones. The rock to which they tie their ship when they land on the east coast of the island gets the name "Holy Rock" from this fact (1.1019); as the scholion to this line says, the name is a euphemism. The "inhabitants" (Doliones or later Greeks?) honor the twelve who die with Kyzikos as heroes (1.1047–48).[59] Kyzikos himself gets a funeral in high heroic fashion, complete with funeral games, and a barrow is heaped up, "a sign for those born later to see" (*σῆμα καὶ ὀψιγόνοισιν ἰδέσθαι* (1.1062).[60] This is on the "Meadowy Plain" (*πεδίον Λειμώνιον*), and so probably on the mainland south of the isthmus. His wife Kleite hangs herself in grief, and the nymphs of the groves weep for her. Their tears become the spring named after her (1.1068–69). The surviving Doliones in mourning neglect to grind their grain and eat it unparched; and so "still now" the Ionians grind their meal at the public mill during the yearly festival of the dead (1.1072–77).

The Argonauts land once and are received hospitably, killing the Gegeneis as they prepare to leave. They land a second time, are mistaken for enemies, and kill their former hosts. The groups of *aitia* associated with these two landings are formed by these contrasting patterns of action and inscribe the events on the landscape, preserve their memory, and configure this place according to them. They are spatially distinct, aside from some convergence in the Doliones' town. The first group for the most part honors the Argonauts' exploits; the second preserves the memory of a terrible mistake, as a result of which they violate a basic Greek institution, hospitality. Tomb and spring again juxtapose land and water, but now to reinforce each other's message. In the lines of the *Iliad* (7.87–91) to which 1.1062 alludes, Hektor imagines the tomb of a man he has killed bringing glory to himself. What does the *σῆμα* (tomb, sign) of Kyzikos signify about Jason?[61] What is more, the Greek colonists later imitate ritually the Doliones' grief and absorb into their own customs a bit of indigenous history that does not do credit to Greeks. The production of space here is complex, and its effect in the poem cannot be simply to legitimate Greek conquest.

59. On the names of these heroes as possibly Apollonius's invention, see Knight 1995: 89–90. Goldhill 1991: 318 regards them as an ironic fiction of scholarship by Apollonius.

60. Reminiscences of Patroklos's funeral in *Iliad* 23, in addition to Kyzikos's resemblances to Hektor, increase the pathos of his death (Knight 1995: 88, 91–92). Thus the story evoked by his tomb will seem all the more paradoxical within a Greek construction of space.

61. Cf. Goldhill 1991: 319: "How is that *sema* to be read?"

Herakles kills most of the Gegeneis, true to his role in paving the way for the spreading of cultural institutions. It is Jason and the other Argonauts who negotiate relations with the human inhabitants of this land. Those relations are a mixture of civility and violence. Whereas the former presents colonization as unproblematical, the killing of Kyzikos and his men, more explicitly than the incident of Kaphauros in Libya, exposes the violence, real or implicit, in all acts of colonial appropriation. The memory of that violence becomes part of the story that the landmarks and customs, and their accompanying narratives, tell. Greek and local perspectives are both represented in the space of this peninsula as we see it constructed in this poem; and this place is from now on defined by the meeting, and partly by the clash, of the Argonauts' and the Doliones' stories.

The ascent of Mount Dindymon appears as an attempt, if not to overcome the contradictions within the portrayal of the Greeks as bearers of both civilization and destruction, at least to incorporate them into a ritual system. Contrary winds keep the Argonauts from sailing for twelve days after Kyzikos's funeral, as though they, like the Doliones, must prolong their mourning, and as if they are trapped in irremediable guilt. The halcyon that swoops over the sleeping Jason's head and alights on the *Argo*'s stern-post, interpreted by Mopsos, tells them to climb the mountain to "propitiate" (ἱλάξασθαι, 1.1093) the Mother of all the gods and says that the winds will then cease. It is hard to know the exact implications of this verb here. It can mean to appease a wrathful divinity, and so it might suggest that the goddess is angry—perhaps at the slaying of the Gegeneis[62] if not at the death of Kyzikos. The winds then would be an expression of her anger. Or, more neutrally, it might mean to win her favor as in 1.1139, in the same episode. In that case, founding her cult on Mount Dindymon can still have the effect of limiting feelings of guilt as well as the practical purpose of calming the winds. Spatially, the cult also resolves the problem of the confusion of land and sea; these elements are subsumed in the comprehensiveness of the goddess's powers over winds, sea, earth, and Olympus (1.1098–99).

At the summit they have the "god's eye" prospect over the Propontis (1.1112–16), and in addition to getting their bearings they seem to be escaping the miasma of guilt and grief associated with the town down below. From the massive stump of a grapevine Argos carves a wooden image or *xoanon* of the goddess, and they place it not in a temple but on a hillock overshadowed by tall

62. One could then reconstruct a coherent causation, as Clauss does (1993: 171–72): the angry goddess sends the winds that blow the Argonauts back, and they must atone for blood-guilt. Against this see Fränkel 1968: 135–40. It is an important characteristic of this text that it leaves such questions open. See Byre 2002: 24–32, who points out among other things the heavy concentration in this episode of the indefinite modal *που*, "I suppose," which indicates uncertainty on the narrator's part about key aspects of the story. Pietsch 1999: 225–26 argues, in my view excessively, for coherent causation of the events at Kyzikos (as everywhere else in the poem) in the plans of Zeus, although mortals cannot know them.

oaks, where they also build an altar of stones. The image, the altar, and their location express the balance achieved in this place between the power of nature worshiped in the goddess and the signs of human cult activity that the Argonauts leave here. The natural tokens of her favor in response to the sacrifice are "appropriate signs" (*ἐοικότα σήματα* [*sêmata*], 1.1141) that counterbalance the significance of Kyzikos's tomb or *σῆμα* [*sêma*] at which the Doliones are still lamenting down on the plain. The signs of the goddess's favor are forever linked to the Argonauts through the name given to the "Jasonian Spring" that now for the first time gushes forth. This spring on the mountain top recalls the "Jasonian Way," so that the successful ascent is contrasted with the earlier, interrupted one. It also corresponds to the cult of Jasonian Athena at the Argonauts' first mooring place. By implication, the Mother of the Gods stands in the same relation to the Argonauts as Athena does, as a divine helper, and this helps both to appropriate her cult to Greek usage and to naturalize the idea of Greek settlement in this place. To drown out the Doliones' cries, which would be ill-omened at a sacrifice, the Argonauts beat their shields with their spears as they dance in armor (1.1134–38). This action is then the *aition* for the Phrygians' worship of the goddess with rhombus and drum (1.1138–39). But the cult does not entirely efface the memory of Kyzikos's death and the feelings associated with it, but rather incorporates traces of them; for to drown out cries of grief is also to acknowledge their existence and the reason for them. And this acknowledgement lasts in the motivation for the Phrygians' cult practice.

This *aition* is an audacious appropriation to Greek culture of this Asian cult, for it attributes a Greek origin to the most "foreign" aspect of its ritual.[63] There can be no clearer example of the cultural purposes served by this account of the Argonautic voyage and its definition of space. In this case we can be fairly sure of how the *aition* was formed; it is a doublet of the story that the Korybantes drowned out the infant Zeus's cries by beating drums in order to conceal him from Kronos. The Idaean Dactyls, whose association with the Mother of the Gods eases the Greek absorption of her cult (it was not Apollonius's invention),[64] were born in a cave on Mount Dicte in Crete (1.1126–31). It was in the Dictaean cave that Zeus was concealed as an infant—a detail included in Orpheus's song at Pagasae (1.509). The Greeks, in fact, identified the Mother of the Gods with Rheia, Zeus's mother, and so does Apollonius. The pattern in his naming of her makes clear the process of appropriation. At first she is "the mother of all the gods" (1.1094), and when the Argonauts sacrifice to her they call upon her as "the very holy Dindymian Mother" (*Μητέρα Δινδυμίαν πολυπότνιαν*, 1.1125). But it is Rheia whom the non-Greek Phrygians are said to propitiate (1.1139) in the very line that appropriates her cult for

63. Stephens 2003: 188.
64. See the scholia on 1.1126–31a-b.

Greece. And at the end of the whole episode the Argonauts are said to honor Rheia in song at their sacrificial feast (1.1150–51).

The entire Kyzikos episode can be read as reproducing the categories through which colonizers often understand the colonial experience: the new land seen as mysterious (Mount Dindymon) and humanly habitable (the isthmus and plain) and thus promising territory for appropriation (Fair Haven, the cult of Jasonian Athena, the altar of Apollo Ekbasios); the inhabitants experienced as savage (the Gegeneis) or like the newcomers (Kyzikos with his hospitality) and yet different at the same time (the Doliones' descent from Poseidon and their otherwise uncertain cultural affinities);[65] and the combination of harmony and tension between inhabitants and newcomers, the latter ultimately involving force in which the newcomers prove superior (unproblematical in the case of the Gegeneis, highly problematical in the case of the Doliones and therefore both memorialized and partially exorcised in cult). In this way, the episode appears as the *aition* of the founding of the Greek colony of Kyzikos, which the Argonauts' actions both prefigure and legitimate.

The Kyzikos narrative thus shows clearly how a space originally organized in one way by its inhabitants (the division of the landscape between Gegeneis and Doliones for peaceful coexistence) comes to be reconfigured in terms that both give it a Greek identity and help to define that identity. The peninsula is an absolute space that, when the Argonauts arrive, has already been configured relatively, through the movements of the inhabitants (where the Gegeneis and the Doliones do and do not go) and relationally (their peaceful relations determine and are determined by where they live). The Argonauts' view from Mount Dindymon incorporates Kyzikos into a larger absolute space. Their movements to and away from the peninsula relate it to other landfalls as parts of a new and more comprehensive relative spatial framework. The destruction they inflict on the Gegeneis and Doliones alters Kyzikos as relational space in favor of a new relational version, an essentially colonialist perception of its space, although one not free of contradictions. The changes made by the Argonauts to the landscape produce lasting signs that imply narratives and so give this space a history that is predominantly Greek without entirely effacing the Doliones. This landscape can be read, in its Hellenizing and its ambivalent aspects, because individual places, with their associated stories, in their interrelationships form a system and produce an overarching narrative that makes possible an understanding of this space, of the human activities carried on within and by means of it, and finally of important aspects of Greek culture.

65. I should emphasize that, unlike (e.g.) Stefanis 1993 and Cusset 2004a, I do not think that binary oppositions between Greek and non-Greek and between civilized and savage non-Greeks are all that the *Argonautika* suggests about the relations between Greeks and others. Apollonius uses these commonplace antitheses both here and in other episodes, but he also complicates them in ways that raise questions about their adequacy.

Cape Acherousia and the Site of Heraclea Pontica

After passing through the Bosporos and entering the Black Sea, the Argonauts row all night, and at dawn they put in at the deserted island of Thynias. There Apollo appears to them on his way north from Lycia to the Hyperboreans. The Argonauts do not dare to look directly at him, but stand with their heads bowed toward the ground (4.683–84). Like Jason's encounter with Iphias at Iolkos, this is an example of intersecting paths but missed connection. Here the effect is to stress the gulf between mortals and gods,[66] which also is reflected in the contrast between their modes of travel through space: Apollo moves through the air, apparently without effort, whereas the Argonauts row a ship, the product of human culture, and they have just completed an arduous passage through the Kyanean Rocks. The Argonauts' response expresses the solidarity of their human community. They join in sacrificing to Apollo and dance in unison while Orpheus sings a hymn in his honor, they pour libations, and, touching the victims with their hands, they take an oath "that they will always help one another in harmony of mind" (*ἦ μὲν ἀρήξειν / ἀλλήλοις εἰσαιὲν ὁμοφροσύνῃσι νόοιο*). They then build a shrine to Homonoia, social cooperation personified (chap. 3), that remains standing "even to this day," *εἰσέτι νῦν γε*" (2.714–19). So an island that has been desolate until now (*ἐρημαίη*, 2.672) is marked with a sign of Greek cult and of Greek social relations under the name of the god who oversees colonization, is associated with light and clarity, and is patron of musical, and by extension social, harmony.[67] For the Argonauts rename Thynias after Apollo of the Dawn (*Ἑώιος*, 2.686–88), replacing with a Greek name what was evidently a local toponym.[68]

This small-scale example of the incorporation of deserted land into a Greek spatial system is a prelude to the next extended episode with colonial implications. After the brightness and splendor of the Olympian Apollo's sunrise epiphany, the Argonauts land at a place shadowed over by chthonic, underworld connections: the Acherousian Cape, where the river Acheron discharges into the sea near a "cave of Hades" (vividly described at 2.727–51).[69] In this spooky landscape Megarians and Boeotians eventually (ca. 560 BCE) founded Heraclea, one of the wealthiest and most important Greek cities on the Black Sea. After 280 BCE it entered on a particularly flourishing period,

66. Cf. Feeney 1991: 76–77.

67. Hunter (1986: 53–54) points out that these two foundations—to Apollo of the Dawn and to Homonoia—"are not separate, unrelated events, but part of one Apolline experience," since Apollo is a patron of music and the connection between musical and social harmony was well established by Apollonius's time.

68. "Thynias" resembles the name of the territory on both the European and the Asian sides of the Bosporos, Bithynia: see schol. on 2.177.

69. On the description of the landscape, see Williams 1991: 145–50; Cusset 1998: 106–9. On the topography of the area, see Delage 1930: 140–55.

politically and militarily, and became a center of resistance to Seleucid power—and therefore was useful to the Ptolemies militarily as well as for economic reasons.[70] The Argonauts' visit to this place must therefore have had particular significance to Apollonius's Alexandrian audience, who would have read this account of the site's pre-Greek conditions through their knowledge of the later city. The connection-by-contrast between Thynias and the Acherousian Cape would have been particularly clear because Thynias, deserted when the Argonauts land there, was colonized from Heraclea, perhaps in the fifth century BCE, and "provided a safe haven for ships sailing along the otherwise hostile Bithynian coast."[71]

Their landfall here is the closest the Argonauts come to an actual epic *katabasis* or descent to the underworld.[72] Instead of offering us an encounter with the dead, however, Apollonius shifts attention to colonization and Greek city building. Human cultural activity to some extent offsets death, as the establishing of a colony on this spot suggests. At the same time, culture and death interlock: humans die, but death is acculturated through funeral ritual and the building of tombs as signs on the land, as we see in two examples below. Important parallels, reinforced by verbal echoes, connect this episode with the one at Kyzikos: contact in both places between humans and the powers of earth, hospitality by an indigenous ruler, the prominence of Herakles, deaths and funerals that occasion *aitia*, and mourning that delays the Argonauts from sailing.[73] But there are also differences that make the present episode seem more idealizing in what it suggests about colonization.[74]

An explicit anticipation of the colonial venture occurs in connection with the Acheron River, at the end of the description of the landscape (2.746–51):

> τὸν μὲν ἐν ὀψιγόνοισι Σοωναύτην ὀνόμηναν
> Νισαῖοι Μεγαρῆες, ὅτε νάσσεσθαι ἔμελλον
> γῆν Μαριανδυνῶν—δὴ γὰρ σφέας ἐξεσάωσεν
> αὐτῇσιν νήεσσι κακῇ χρίμψαντας ἀέλλῃ·
> τῇ ῥ' οἵ γ' αὐτίκα νηὶ διὲξ Ἀχερουσίδος ἄκρης
> εἰσωποί, ἀνέμοιο νέον λήγοντος, ἔκελσαν.

70. Burstein 1976: 90; Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: I, 156–57; Archibald 2007.

71. Burstein 1976: 36.

72. Beye 1982: 12–14; Hunter 1993: 184; Kyriakou 1995; Clare 2002: 87–88 (I would not agree, however, with his statement that in Apollonius's description "the entrance to the underworld is . . . established as a tourist's curiosity").

73. See footnotes to the translation in Vian and Delage 2002: I, 216–17. On the *aitia* in this episode, see Fraser 1972: I, 630–32.

74. Apollonius evidently did not invent a number of the most important narrative elements that I discuss but took them over from his sources, primarily local Heracleote historians (for a convenient summary see Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: I, 162). That does not affect my argument; he incorporates into his poem colonialist discourse that they already had produced. This discourse informs the narrative of several interrelated episodes in the poem and is thus part of a system of representation far broader than the history of any one place.

> This river in the time of later generations the Megarians of Nisa
> named Soonautes ["salvation of sailors"] when they were about to settle
> the land of the Mariandynoi—for it saved them
> together with their ships when they drove ashore with a bad gale.
> There the Argonauts entered the river,[75] passing along Cape Acherousia,
> and moored when the wind had just dropped.

So the river associated with the underworld and death becomes a refuge for ships and a means of salvation from death when Greeks colonize this place. This juxtaposition of city founding and death suggests the taming of otherwise wild forces through human (in this case Greek) culture, with their awesome powers turned to human good, somewhat as the powers of the Great Mother are enlisted by the institution of her cult on Mount Dindymon. The renaming of the river is a "prospective" *aition*, like the mention of the temple of Jasonian Athena in the Kyzikos episode, that implies a complicated time-scheme. It refers to an event in the future with regard to the poem's narrative present, one that will be foundational for the city of Heraclea, whose existence is still farther in the future; but from the reader's perspective all of this is in the past. The Argonauts' entering the river and putting to shore a little upstream prefigure the landing of the colonists and so stake a Greek claim to this place, bringing it within the Greek spatial system. The river's new name has the same effect. As often in the *Argonautika*, naming or renaming a place involves investing it with a Greek cultural meaning and so making it a part of a network of places whose significance takes on a Greek inflection. To rename a natural feature "Salvation of Sailors," when its original name associates it with something so outside culture as death, is to humanize it, to give it a role in history, and to give it a history, since names function like other signs in the landscape in evoking narratives.

As we find out immediately after the lines quoted above, this area, which at first is made to seem desolate but which has a colonial future, is already inhabited, by the very Mariandynoi in whose land the Megarians will someday settle. Their ruler Lykos gives hospitality to the Argonauts because Polydeukes killed their bitter enemy Amykos, king of the Bebrukes. As at Kyzikos, we note Greek-like behavior in a "barbarian." The contrast between Lykos and Amykos, like the juxtaposition of the Doliones and the Gegeneis, brings together the civility and savagery that represent alternate ways by which colonial newcomers view indigenous peoples. Now, however, the Argonauts' dealings with the local people are emptied of violence, which is concentrated in the Amykos episode; the prevailing colonial model at the site of Heraclea is one of friendly cooperation.

75. I follow Vian's interpretation of the difficult *εἰσωποί*, which is based on the scholion (Vian and Delage 2002: I, 212n2).

Lykos's speech in reply to Jason's narrative of his quest for the fleece (2.774–810) contains an anecdote about Herakles that forms a counterpoint to the Argonauts' present venture. He saw Herakles in his father's house when he himself was a young boy with the down beginning to sprout on his cheeks (a detail reminiscent of Kyzikos, 1.972). Herakles was on his way to fetch the girdle of Hippolyte, "going on foot through the Asian mainland" in obvious contrast to the Argonauts' sailing, when he stopped to take part in the funeral of Lykos's brother Priolas, who had been killed in battle with the Mysians. In the funeral games he defeated Titias, most handsome and strongest of the Mariandynoi, in a boxing match, dashing his teeth to the ground. Then Herakles conquered a large amount of territory to the east and (especially) west adjacent to the coast, bringing various peoples under the control of Lykos's father. Amykos and the Bebrukes have taken most of it away, since Herakles lived far off. But now Polydeukes has killed Amykos, and the Argonauts have made the Bebrukes pay the penalty for their aggression.

The Argonauts killed their host Kyzikos and gave him funeral games. Herakles, by contrast, won a controlled victory in funeral games for his host's dead son but used his strength to do his host a service by conquering the latter's external enemies. They got wrong what he got right. But now, with a boxing match against Amykos[76] followed by a pitched battle, the Argonauts have repeated the service Herakles did for the Mariandynoi, or more precisely, have restored what he achieved. This time, combining boxing match with warfare, they have done the right thing. And so, in some sense, they undo, or at least offset, the damage they inadvertently caused in the Kyzikos episode, damage that, we recall, seriously qualified what could otherwise be read as a paradeigmatic anticipation of Greek colonization. Here, on the site of another important Greek city, what is suggested about colonization seems straightforwardly positive: it involves willing cooperation between local people and newcomers. At the same time, there is no doubt where mastery lies: Herakles and the Argonauts have proved themselves the Mariandynoi's superiors in might and force of arms. As Lykos says, he will reward Polydeukes for killing Amykos, "for this is the right way for weak men to behave when stronger men help them first" (*ἡ γὰρ θέμις ἠπεδανοῖσιν / ἀνδράσιν, εὖτ' ἄρξωσιν ἀρείονες ἄλλοι ὀφέλλειν*, 2.800–801). Cultural contact is thus presented as an exchange of favors, but not between equals. Indigenous people, it is implied, benefit when Greek strangers enter their space and colonize it.

Herakles is a forerunner of the Argonauts just as they provide a paradigm for the Megarians who will eventually build a city here. It is a sign of this succession, as well as of the Greek appropriation of this place for which it stands,

76. This boxing match was not controlled violence since it ended with a death, but it was against an uncivilized foe.

that the city the Megarians will found will be named after Herakles,[77] and that a shrine to the Dioskouroi will stand high on the bluff, visible from far out at sea. Let us look more closely at this latter *aition*.

Lykos's speech contains an *aition* for a local Mariandynian custom, lamentation for his brother "from that time" when he died in battle (*ἐξέτι κείνου*, 2.781–82). This ritual recalls the yearly libations in honor of Kyzikos, when cakes are eaten made of grain only from public mills (1.1075–77), but these are performed by the colonial "Ionians," whereas the laments for Lykos's brother have nothing to do with Greeks, and we do not know what became of them after Greek settlement. This local custom is balanced by Lykos's tokens of honor to Polydeukes, which are virtual emblems of cultural contact. In front of the city he sets apart a heroic *temenos*, choice land given to someone who has done extraordinary service to the community, or dedicated to his memory (2.809–10). This is a practice of Greek epic society and has precedents in Homer, but in this context it could provide a paradigm for the Mariandynoi's later gift of land to the Megarian and Boeotian settlers.[78] It also stands for the grafting of newcomers onto the indigenous society. In addition, there is the shrine to the Dioskouroi, which Lykos describes in this way (2.806–8):

νόσφι δὲ Τυνδαρίδαις Ἀχερουσίδος ὑψόθεν ἀκτῆς
εἴσομαι ἱερὸν αἰπύ, τὸ μὲν μάλα τηλόθι πάντες
ναυτίλοι ἄμ πέλαγος θηεύμενοι ἱλάξονται.

And for the sons of Tyndaros apart from the rest, high above the
Acherousian shore,
I shall establish a towering shrine, which all sailors far out at sea
will look upon and reverence.

Burstein suggests that this shrine was founded by the Greek Heracleotes, although the only evidence he cites even for its existence is this passage.[79] There are good reasons for this idea: the Dioskouroi are figures from Greek myth, and the lines strongly imply the function attributed to them in Greek belief, which has nothing to do with Polydeukes' killing of Amykos: safeguarding ships. If Burstein is correct, we can observe Apollonius attributing a Greek foundation to an indigenous ruler, with obvious anachronism. But even if he is not, Lykos here promotes a Greek cult not only in gratitude to the Greeks but also after acknowledging his and his people's inferiority to them and dependence on them (again, 2.800–801). That is, the shrine epitomizes a local people's reception of the newcomers' culture and absorption in it. The shrine

77. Apollonius never says this, any more than he mentions the name of the Greek city built in the territory of Kyzikos. The characters in the poem cannot know these things, but the reader does. Part of the pleasure of reading about origins, especially when there is to be a development from humble or obscure beginnings to magnificence, is that one knows the outcome, especially when the actors in the story do not.

78. On the friendly reception of these colonists by the Mariandynoi, see Burstein 1976: 18.

79. Burstein 1976: 36 with n128.

will be placed above the mouth of the Acheron River, so that once again we might say that the power of death is offset by a force for salvation. In addition, chthonic forces are counterbalanced by deified heroes connected to Olympian religion (Polydeukes, if not his brother also, was thought to be the son of Zeus).[80] Their shrine repeats in cult the significance of the renaming of the river, for they too are the "salvation of sailors." Thus the shrine is an emblem of a peaceful, one might say acquiescent, reception of Greek settlers long before it happens. The renaming of the river will signify the same thing; the two are temporally complementary in that the shrine looks ahead to what the name will commemorate: the preservation of Greek sailors. Thus here, as at the site of Kyzikos, signs on the landscape can be read, both in themselves and in their interrelationships, for their message about Greek settlement; this illustrates how, as we saw in chapter 1, space is a signifying medium like language.

We know more about the history of Heraclea than about that of most other Greek cities on the Black Sea, and the reality seems to have been very different from the picture that Apollonius implies. Evidently the Mariandynoi welcomed the Greeks cordially at first and allowed them to settle in their territory. As Heraclea grew in size and wealth, however, the Mariandynoi came to perceive the Greeks as a threat and resisted their encroachments. A period of bitter conflict ended with the reduction of the Mariandynoi to serfdom or virtual slavery, and it is a good bet, on the basis of parallel situations elsewhere such as at Sparta, that the Heracleotes had to take strict measures to control the subject population.[81] This is how Burstein describes the Greeks' attitudes to the Mariandynoi:

> The conquest and enslavement of the Mariandynoi divided Heraclea into two separate societies. To be Greek was to belong to the society of masters, not that of slaves. A heightened sense of Greek identity and, judging from Posidonius' picture of Heraclea's subjects as contented 'Sambos,' a denigration of the Mariandynoi as racial inferiors followed. Their subjects' seeming acquiescence in their slavery encouraged the latter attitude; the former was actively cultivated. Saga was rewritten to justify Greek domination of Mariandynia and to erase as much as possible any reminders of Mariandynian influence within Heraclea herself.[82]

Apollonius does not engage in denigration of the Mariandynoi, but in his portrayal of space in this episode he suggests that the colonization of Heraclea

80. The fact that in some versions of their story Polydeukes shared immortality with Kastor by going to the underworld on alternate days (e.g., Pi. *N.* 10.50–90) strengthens the notion, implied by the setting of their temple, of offsetting death.

81. Burstein 1976: 18, 28–30

82. Burstein 1976: 91. Cf. Rubio 1992: 120–24.

was a cooperative enterprise between them and the Greeks, in which the Greeks were conceded to be superior. And the shrine to the Dioskouroi is an example of the suppression of local in favor of Greek tradition, in which the Mariandynoi participate.

The episode ends with two more *aitia*, intriguing ones, that both stake out a Greek presence in this landscape and show the limits of the effectiveness of spatial sign-making. These are the stories that Apollonius associates with two tombs that the Argonauts leave behind them, both called *σήματα* [*sêmata*] in the text (2.853). The helmsman Tiphys is killed by a ferocious boar, and the seer Idmon falls sick and dies during Tiphys's funeral. That the Argonauts' first losses to death occur here, at the site of an opening to the underworld, seems appropriate; and there may be a suggestion that a true connection with a place comes about only when a member of a newly arrived group dies and is buried there. If so, Apollonius may be drawing on colonists' actual experience.

However that may be, the tombs themselves, "a little below the Acherousian headland" (2.844), mark the landscape with the presence of Greek dead and reconfigure it; a place initially described as desolate and otherworldly now bears new signs of human, specifically Greek, presence. The Argonauts perform a funeral for Idmon "in magnificent style" (*μεγαλωστί*, 2.838)—perhaps shorthand for the kind of funeral Kyzikos receives (1.1057–62). This would be in epic style and therefore Greek, and it is important that Lykos and his people join in the ceremony (2.838–39); the sacrificial ritual that is described here is certainly Greek. Local inhabitants thus help to produce the tomb's meaning with its Greek inflection, and they become part of the narrative it implies, as Apollonius now tells it.

The richly suggestive description of Idmon's tomb itself, however, both reinforces this Greek construction of space and provides the only complication of it in the entire episode. The implications are highly significant for our understanding of *aitia* in the poem as a whole (2.841–50):

> *καὶ δή τοι κέχυται τοῦδ' ἀνέρος ἐν χθονὶ κείνῃ*
> *τύμβος· σῆμα δ' ἔπεστι καὶ ὀψιγόνοισιν ἰδέσθαι,*
> *νήιος ἐκ κοτίνοιο φάλαγξ—θαλέθει δέ τε φύλλοις—*
> *ἄκρης τυτθὸν ἔνερθ' Ἀχερουσίδος. εἰ δέ με καὶ τὸ*
> *χρείω ἀπηλεγέως Μουσέων ὕπο γηρύσασθαι,*
> *τόνδε πολισσοῦχον διεπέφραδε Βοιωτοῖσι*
> *Νισαίοισί τε Φοῖβος ἐπιρρήδην ἱλάεσθαι,*
> *ἀμφὶ δὲ τήνδε φάλαγγα παλαιγενέος κοτίνοιο*
> *ἄστυ βαλεῖν, οἱ δ' ἀντὶ θεουδέος Αἰολίδαο*
> *Ἴδμονος εἰσέτι νῦν Ἀγαμήστορα κυδαίνουσι.*

> And look! There is heaped up in that land a tomb
> of this man. A sign is on it for later generations to see,
> a ship's roller made from the wild olive—and it bursts forth with leaves—

> a little below Cape Acherousia. And if this too
> I must speak out forthrightly, impelled by the Muses,
> Phoibos Apollo advised the Boeotians and Nisaeans [Megarians]
> to worship this man as their city's patron by name,[83]
> and around this roller of ancient wild olive
> to build their city. But they, instead of the pious descendant of Aiolos,
> Idmon, to this day honor Agamestor.

The sign (*sêma*) in this case is not the tomb itself but the ship's roller on its top. It points to several meanings. In regard to literature, and so as a kind of metapoetic sign, it recalls the oar planted on top of Elpenor's tomb in the *Odyssey* (11.75–78; cf. 12.14–15).[84] Elpenor's tomb is to be a sign (*sêma*) for those born later to see (*Od.* 11.75–76), or so he hopes; but a sign of what? Who will see it on Kirke's island, and what will it signify? Certainly no heroic exploit by Elpenor. The visit here by Odysseus and his crew? Perhaps, but signs need people to see and interpret them. With this allusion Apollonius seems to be drawing a contrast between the systematic marking of space in his narrative and its impossibility in the directionless landscape of Odysseus's travels. As a spatial marker, the roller does two things. In evoking the logs used to roll the *Argo* down to the sea on its first launching (1.375–77: the same Greek word, *φάλαγξ*, is used in both places), it connects Cape Acherousia with Iolkos, links this site with the Greek mainland, and so defines space in a Greek colonialist way. Second, it recalls the trunk of a grapevine on Mount Dindymon that the Argonauts cut and that Argos carves into a cult-image of the Great Mother (1.1117–20). There, wood is severed from its roots in the earth and made a human artifact; here a log that has been cut and put to the service of human craft is returned to the earth and blossoms with leaves. In spite of the reversal, what is being suggested in both places is a connection with the earth,[85] again with overtones of spatial demarcation and colonialist claims.

And yet this is a very peculiar *aition*, as the narrator's pose of reluctance emphasizes ("if the Muses compel me to say this plainly as well"). It seems that the memory of Idmon's death and burial, a key part of the Argonautic story, faded in the time between the *Argo*'s quest and the founding of Heraclea. Confronted with a funeral mound surmounted by a tree, and told by Apollo to worship its inhabitant by name as a civic hero and to build their city around the tomb, the colonists gave this unknown hero the generic name Agamestor

83. This must be the sense of *ἐπιρρήδην*, which is most naturally taken with *ἱλάεσθαι* because of the word order, rather than with *διεπέφραδε* in the sense "expressly" (Mooney 1912: 200). Understood in this way, the word is ironic in context: the Megarians and Boeotians worship the hero buried in this tomb under the wrong name.

84. See Hunter 1993: 44, who points out that whereas Elpenor dies alone and his death is unnoticed, Idmon dies in his comrades' arms, the center of attention.

85. A suggestion reinforced in the earlier episode by the signs of natural abundance that attend the institution of the Great Mother's cult, 1.1140–49.

("Excellent Councillor").[86] If an *aition* is supposed to create a connection between past and present,[87] this one is completely ineffective, at least until the *Argonautika*'s time of narration. And if a place implies a narrative, if landmarks in that place serve as signs whose signified is that narrative, and if the narrative in turn plays an important role in the definition of space, then what we find here is a breakdown in that process of spatial signification that seriously qualifies not only what has been, up to this point, an uncomplicated redefinition of Cape Acherousia in accordance with Greek interests but also the production of space in the poem as a whole. The tomb may be a sign (*sêma*) for future generations to see, but they will interpret it differently from what the narrator claims is the true way. No wonder he professes reluctance![88]

The idea that the memory associated with a tomb can fade with time has a precedent in Homer. Before the chariot race that is the first event in the funeral games for Patroklos, Nestor gives advice to his son Antilokhos, one of the contestants, in the course of which he describes the turning post in the race course: a dry stump with two white stones propped against it. Then he speculates (*Il.* 23.331–33):

> ἤ τευ σῆμα βροτοῖο πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος,
> ἠὲ τό γε νύσσα τέτυκτο ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων,
> καὶ νῦν τέρματ' ἔθηκε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.
>
> Either it is the tomb (*sêma*) of some mortal dead long ago,
> or it was set up as a turning post in the time of earlier men,
> and now divine, swift-footed Achilles has made it the end-marker
> [of the course].

Here too a sign in the landscape admits of more than one interpretation; in fact, it is not clear that it marks a tomb at all, and if it does the man buried there is now nameless, just one of an earlier generation. This uncertainty contrasts strongly with (for example) Hektor's confidence that the tomb of the man he kills will preserve his own glory (*Il.* 7.81–91), and it is in significant tension with the whole idea, so essential to epic poetics, of commemorating great heroes through monuments and poetic narrative. Apollonius may not be

86. This seems the clear implication of the text. Clare (2002: 265) speaks of "the flouting of the will of Apollo," but the settlers do try to follow it.

87. Note *εἰσέτι νῦν* ("still to this day") in 2.850, which arouses expectations that such a connection is going to be made. These are deflated by the name Agamestor that immediately follows.

88. This passage may also, as Morrison (2007: 295–96) suggests, mark a stage in the narrator's progressive loss of control over the narrative in the poem, in the sense of greater reliance on the Muses (implied by the phrase "impelled by the Muses"). That would work in well with my point about the limits on the construction of space here. There is also a more general point to be made about Idmon's / Agamestor's tomb, as Phillip Horky has pointed out to me: it represents "a breakdown of the (by now) familiar semiotics of name and body. The signifier has become generalized, a . . . perverse consequence of failed community memory [that is] especially significant at the entrance to the underworld." Limits on the cultural definition of space go hand in hand with limits on the acculturation of death.

alluding to this passage, but he too suggests the uncertainty of signs and their interpretation, in very similar terms.

A considerable difference, however, is that the *Argonautika* narrator corrects the colonists' misapprehension and restores Idmon's *kleos*, whereas no such thing happens in the Homeric passage. Thus, as Goldhill writes, "the aetiology here, together with the discourse of erudite precision, is to reaffirm the *kleos* buried in the confused history of names and memorial."[89] The narrator therefore moves self-reflexively to vindicate epic poetry's function of keeping *kleos* alive. But the extra-textual reference to the Heracleotes' practice—they still celebrate Agamestor "to this day" (*εἰσέτι νῦν*)—is in tension with that function. How effective will the poem be against current belief? In fact Apollonius may be playing a sophisticated joke. We know from the scholia something about what local historians who seem to have been his sources wrote about Idmon's death. The scholia tell us (a) that Herodorus said that Idmon died in the country of the Mariandynoi, and Promathidas and Nymphis added that he was gored by a boar; (b) that Herodorus said that in the *agora* of the Heracleotes was a tomb surmounted by a wild olive tree; and (c) that not knowing who was buried in the tomb the Heracleotes call him Agamestor, a local hero, according to Promathidas.[90] But what we do not hear is that any of these sources said that the man buried in the tomb and worshiped as a hero was actually the Argonaut Idmon. Could Apollonius have invented this detail? And could he have intended readers familiar with those local historians to recognize this invention for what it was? If so, the narrator's professed reluctance to "correct" the Heracleotes' mistake is sly, and his attribution of the "true" version to the Muses is a self-reflexive gesture exposing the fictionality of his narrative and the arbitrariness of sign-making. But at the same time, he would be emphasizing his own program of configuring space *within his poem* by creating Greek reference points along the *Argo*'s itinerary, at the same time acknowledging the uncertainty of signs and their interpretation, and so, inevitably, the limits on the construction of space.

The text opens itself to that uncertainty while simultaneously offering an authoritative-sounding interpretation in the form of an *aition*. The second *aition* displays similarly dual and conflicting impulses (2.851–56):

> *τίς γὰρ δὴ θάνεν ἄλλος; ἐπεὶ καὶ ἔτ' αὖτις ἔχευαν*
> *ἤρωες τότε τύμβον ἀποφθιμένου ἑτάροιο·*
> *δοιὰ γὰρ οὖν κείνων ἔτι σήματα φαίνεται ἀνδρῶν.*
> *Ἀγνιάδην Τῖφυν θανέειν φάτις· οὐδέ οἱ ἦεν*
> *μοῖρ' ἔτι ναυτίλλεσθαι ἑκαστέρω· ἀλλά νυ καὶ τὸν*
> *αὖθι μινυνθαδίη πάτρης ἑκὰς εὔνασε νοῦσος. . . .*

89. Goldhill 1991: 324.
90. Schol. on 2.815, 848–50a, 844–47a, respectively.

> Well then, who else died—since yet again the heroes
> at that time heaped up another tomb at a comrade's death?
> For two tombs (*sêmata*) of those men are still visible.
> The story goes that Tiphys son of Hagnias died; it was not fated
> for him to voyage any farther, but a brief disease
> overcame him here as well, far from his native land. . . .

Here the narrator dramatizes the reading of spatial signs: there are two tombs (*sêmata*) visible (note the visual implication of φαίνεται), and so someone else must have died as well. He then supplies the narrative: Tiphys's identity, the cause of his death, the Argonauts' grief, and their paralysis at the loss of their helmsman until Ankaios volunteers to pilot the ship. These lines are paradeigmatic of how landmarks imply narratives and thus give definition to space. But as we have seen in the case of Idmon's tomb, everything depends on inferring the correct narrative, or the one most suitable to a particular configuration of space. And so here: there is a second tomb, there is a story (φάτις) that Tiphys died here, and so the tomb must be his. The narrator relates the rest directly and implicitly takes responsibility for it, but it begins from an anonymous report that may or may not be accurate. If it is not, then what is the status of the narrative that follows from it? As we read we have to keep open in our minds two possibilities at once: that we have a scholarly narrator who sifts diligently through sources[91] and rescues the truth of events long past from obscurity, and that he, like all of us, is at the mercy of time and the possible distortions of tradition.

These accounts of the tombs of Idmon and Tiphys thus have important implications for our understanding of the functions of *aitia* in the poem and more broadly for such important aspects of Apollonian poetics as narratorial reliability and the authority of tradition. The production of space is related to those issues. In an episode shot through with colonialist discourse, which suggests that the later settlement at Cape Acherousia will be in the nature of a return for Greeks because the Argonauts have already been there and have undergone experiences archetypal for the relations between colonists and an indigenous people, these concluding *aitia* open up uncertainty about the whole relation between the Argonautic story and the colonial foundation, and more generally about the definition of space that the *Argonautika* is constructing. This uncertainty does not undermine the spatial program of the poem but coexists with it and is even part of its texture. At the same time as the text is engaged in the process of constructing its spatial schema, it reminds us that what it is creating is, precisely, a construct.

91. The scholion on 2.854 tells us that Nymphis related that Tiphys died in Heraclea, although Herodorus said that the death occurred on the return voyage from Colchis.

Coda: The Limits of Spatial Definition

The next place the Argonauts land after leaving Cape Acherousia is a beach left featureless in the text except for a solitary tomb (2.911–29). Its inhabitant appears upon it in full armor, his helmet glinting in the sun. This is Sthenelos, who, after fighting the Amazons with Herakles and being wounded by an arrow, returned this far west and died on the shore.[92] Persephone allowed him to return for a few moments from the underworld after he begged tearfully to be allowed to see, however briefly, men "from his own land" (*ὁμηθέας*, 2.917).[93] The tomb is thus the focus of the assertion of Greek identity in an alien land. It occasions an expression at once of ethnic solidarity and of vulnerability to the non-Greek surroundings—a meaning reinforced when the Argonauts pour libations and offer sacrifices at it. Quite separate from this ritual[94] is the sacrifice the Argonauts now make on an altar that they build and dedicate to Apollo Neossoos, "Savior of Ships," an epithet that obviously recalls the name to be given to the Acheron River, Soonautes, "Savior of Sailors." After the sacrifice, Orpheus leaves his lyre on top of the altar, and so the place will from now on be called Lyra. Tomb and altar: separate markers that, as far as the poem tells us, are all that gives this place a cultural identity. They imply two successive narratives that once again show how the Argonauts crystallize the definition of a space through which Herakles has passed in his far less systematic way.[95]

This short episode plays a significant role in the spatial schema that the poem constructs. This place bears an obvious relation to the Acherousian headland as a locus of communication between the upper and lower worlds. There is the same precarious balance between death and safety. But there is no notion here of an organized human community, still less of this place's future in a Greek colonial network, and the space surrounding the tomb and altar remains alien; the whole scene rests on a sharp contrast between it and the human relations reflected in these landmarks. The tomb and its location thus are transitional between the space to the west of them that, despite some underlying

92. Who is this Sthenelos? Delage identifies him as the son of one Aktor (1930: 157), and this information is repeated in the index of names in the Budé edition. Evidently he follows the scholion to 2.911–14 on this point. That note says that Apollonius got the story of Sthenelos and his death from Promathidas, and so it was part of local tradition. That story may well have included the name of Sthenelos's father. I have been unable to discover who this Aktor is. [Apollodorus] identifies Sthenelos as the son of Androgeos and grandson of Minos (2.100). Herakles acquires him as a companion on Paros, on his way to the Amazons to get the girdle of Hippolyte.

93. This word could also mean "of the same character"—i.e., Greek heroic warriors—as Fränkel, for instance, understands it (1968: 246–47). The effect is the same either way: an expression of Greek identity.

94. It is carefully marked as separate in the text: *ἄνδιχα δ' αὖ χύτλωνν*, "moreover, apart from these libations," 2.927.

95. That Sthenelos's tomb has not participated in a spatial system until now is reflected in the fact that it is not called a *σῆμα* (*sêma*), but instead a *τάφος* (2.911, 925) or a *τύμβος* (2.918)—two words that do not have the same semiotic charge. The contrast with the *sêmata* at Cape Acherousia is marked, even though, as we have seen, their semiotic power has limits.

qualifications, have been fairly confidently included in a Greek spatial system, with emphasis on later colonization, and the part of the Black Sea coast to the east, where the Argonauts will have markedly less control over the construction of space. This diminishing of their spatial power will set the scene for the extended episode of cultural contact in Colchis (book 3).

The descriptions of the coast immediately east of Sthenelos's tomb reflect this loss of control. First comes a summary list of places that the Argonauts pass, without landing and without leaving any sign to commemorate their passage (2.930–45). There is still, of course, the naming of places that includes them in the spatial network. The list ends with their rounding Cape Karambis, and they then row along the Great Shore for a day and a night. Not a single landmark is named, and the impression conveyed is of a very long, monotonous coast without a distinguishing feature. And so it will remain; the Argonauts' presence will make no changes, no difference to this unformed landscape. At last they land, at the site of what was to be a very important Greek city, Sinope, a colony established by Miletus (2.946–61).

This chapter has focused on episodes that anticipate Greek settlement. It will conclude with one that should, but does not. The Argonauts' stop makes no difference to Sinope and implies no claims of colonial legitimacy.[96] They do encounter people in this place, but these are Greeks who, like Sthenelos, accompanied Herakles in his expedition against the Amazons and "wandered away" from him (*ἀποπλαγχθέντες*, 2.957). Their presence arouses no thought of settlement. Just the opposite happens: they board the *Argo* and sail away, for "they no longer wished to stay permanently" (2.960: *οὐδ' ἔτι μιμνάζειν θέλον ἔμπεδον*)—the opposite of colonial desire.[97] Perhaps they are moved by the same nostalgia for Greek culture as Sthenelos was. Two statements in the scholia on 2.955–61 suggest that Apollonius could have shaped this episode very differently: "some say that they [Herakles' companions] strayed from Herakles and settled in the vicinity of what is now called Sinope" and "others say that they were deliberately left behind so that they could subdue the area around Sinope."[98] When Herakles' companions leave this place, their action clashes

96. An *aition* is connected with this place, but tellingly it has nothing to do with the Argonauts. It explains the origin of the later colony's name (though in Apollonius's typical fashion the connection is left implicit) in the story of the Nymph Sinope and how she preserved her virginity by deceiving Zeus, Apollo, and the river Halys (2.946–54). This tale does look ahead to a Greek presence here because Sinope is the daughter of the Greek river Asopos, and in that sense the narrative establishes this site as proto-Greek space. But the Argonauts' stop here makes no difference to this implicit claim.

97. This departure sets a pattern. The only landmarks mentioned between Sinope and the Amazons' territory are river mouths. These can be important in articulating space (chap. 6); but whereas earlier enumerations of landmarks stress the Argonauts seeing them as they pass and so entering into some relation with them, here the text emphasizes instead how the Argonauts left the river mouths behind (2. 963: *λεῖπον . . . λεῖπον*, in anaphora).

98. Schol. on 2.955–61b and a respectively: *τινὲς δέ φασιν, ὅτι ἐπλανήθησαν ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους καὶ περὶ τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Σινώπην ᾤκησαν* and *ἄλλοι δέ φασιν ἑκουσίως καταλειφθῆναι αὐτούς, ἵνα τοὺς περὶ Σινώπην καταπολεμήσωσι τόπους*.

with the reader's knowledge of the city that will be established here. It foils the expectations aroused by the explicit anticipations of colonization in the earlier episodes that we have examined. This surprise accentuates the Argonauts' progressive loss of control over space the farther east they go along this coast. This process is extended in the description of the next leg of their journey. As they pass the territory of the Mossynoikoi, the text gives not even the most indirect reference to the important Greek city that had been established there many centuries before Apollonius's time: Trapezus, the modern Trebizond, which was settled from Sinope.

Apollonius carefully constructed his major colonial episodes so that they showed different aspects of the Greeks' interactions with the places and peoples involved and various ways in which the colonial appropriation of space can be legitimated. As a group, they contrast sharply with the account of Sinope, a place where Greeks as he depicts them have no desire to settle, but want to leave instead.

5

Contact

Colchis and the Interplay of Similarity and Difference

The Shrine to Hekate and Ambivalent Space

It is not true after all that the Argonauts leave no trace of themselves on the Black Sea coast east of Sthenelos's tomb. They do leave one landmark in this area, and the narrative associates an *aition* with it. But this occurs on the return from Colchis, and because this *aition* is anomalous in several ways, the landmark is more in keeping with this alien space than a means to appropriate it to Greek colonial enterprises.

After departing from Colchis with Medea and the Golden Fleece, the Argonauts stop at the mouth of the Halys River in Paphlagonia, one of the places they sailed by and left behind east of Sinope on the outward voyage (2.962). On Medea's instructions, they land here and sacrifice to Hekate (4.246–52). The shrine they build to her "remains from that time even today for men of later generations to see" (ἐξέτι κείνου . . . ἀνδράσιν ὀψιγόνοισι μένει καὶ τῆμος ἰδέσθαι, 4.250–52).[1] This is the usual language for marking an *aition*. But the shrine honors a different divinity from those they honored earlier (chthonic instead of Olympian),[2] they are following Medea's

1. On τῆμος as equivalent to νῦν, with inscriptional and Callimachean parallels, see Livrea 1973: 85.

2. With the exception of the Great Mother at Kyzikos, but that was a case of appropriating eastern cult to the Greek religious system. Although possibly of Carian origin (her most important cult center was at Lagina in Caria), Hekate was included in that system at least from the time of

commands in worshiping the patroness of her witchcraft, and her rites are secret, known only to Medea and not to be divulged even by the poem's narrator (4.248–49). "From this he [Apollonius] wishes to make clear that [Medea] wanted to accomplish the kind of sacrifice that witches do," wrote an ancient commentator.[3] The secrecy of the rite and its narrative suppression recall the Argonauts' stop at Samothrace (1.919–21), but the point is not that cult secrecy was foreign to Greek religion (it was not, of course); rather, it is one of several elements that set this *aition* apart from the others in the *Argonautika*, which often specify details of rituals. We might particularly contrast the narrative of this foundation with the events on Thynias. There the Argonauts, on their own initiative, build a shrine to Homonoia, personification of a public virtue in contrast to Hekate's private rites. They sacrifice to Apollo, an Olympian god whom they have just seen traveling through the air and whom they associate with the dawn, the antithesis of the nocturnal and chthonic Hekate. And the sacrifice is narrated fully and in detail. Finally, the *aition* of Hekate's shrine is anomalous in regard to the poem's narrative structure. It disrupts the linear, chronological sequence by which the places lent significance by the *Argo*'s passage represent stages in its progress. The succession of places along the south coast of the Black Sea that reflects the rhythm of the ship's movement and pauses is interrupted short of Colchis by a sign of the outcome of the journey there.

The shrine to Hekate celebrates Jason's success in gaining the fleece, but it also commemorates the magic that was the condition of that success; it is a thank offering for the drugs that made him invincible. It also evokes Medea, that dangerous female and barbarian supplement to the *Argo*'s masculine Greek crew who is also a vulnerable young girl. The ambivalence of the narrative that will from now on be connected with this place parallels the ambivalence of of Medea, of Hekate as both helper and dread underworld power, and of Jason's deed. The shrine is thus appropriate to this region but also helps to characterize it as an in-between space where the normative Greek cultural categories confront what is foreign and cannot be assimilated to them. In Book 2, the last peoples to be described in any detail

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Hesiod's *Theogony* (411–49) and was widely worshiped in the Greek world. But in later times she became marginal in relation to the Olympian gods—as a goddess of the underworld and of magic who was worshiped at crossroads and with whom dogs were particularly associated. See Henrichs in *OCD*[3] s.v. Hecate. According to Sauzeau 2000: 215, Hekate is at home in an "elsewhere," a savage world where she performs a function of "alterity." Within the *Argonautika* her sinister aspects are established by the ritual Jason performs furtively the night before his ordeal, also at Medea's command (3.1191–1224). On Hekate's relation to Artemis (the patron goddess of Iolkos), see Nelis 1991: 101–3.

3. Schol. on 4.247–52: *ἐκ τούτου βούλεται δηλῶσαι, ὅτι τοιαύτην θυσίαν ἐβούλετο τελέσαι ὁποίαν φαρμακίδες*. The same note informs us that Nymphis mentioned a shrine to Hekate established by Medea in Paphlagonia. Apollonius was following one of his main sources here, and there may actually have been such a shrine; but what matters is the significance he gave it within the framework of *aitia* in his poem.

in this final segment of the voyage before the arrival at Colchis represent in various ways inversions of Greek norms (the Amazons, 2.985–1000, the Chalybes 2.1000–1008,[4] the Tibarenoi, 2.1009–14, and the Mossynoikoi, 2.1015–29).[5] It is because this is a space of difference and reversal that we suddenly get a spate of "ethnographic" descriptions in the manner of Herodotus.

To speak of "difference and reversal," however, is still to define these peoples from a Greek perspective, as "not us." This duality of "us" and "them" is clearest in the description of the Mossynoikoi, with its echo of Herodotus's description of the Egyptians (2.35). It begins (2.1018–20):

> ἀλλοίη δὲ δίκη καὶ θέσμια τοῖσι τέτυκται.
> ὅσσα μὲν ἀμφαδίῃ ῥέζειν θέμις ἢ ἐνὶ δήμῳ
> ἢ ἀγορῇ, τάδε πάντα δόμοις ἔνι μηχανόωνται.
>
> Different are the customs and laws that they have established.
> All that it is right to do openly, either in public
> or in the market place, they do all these things inside their houses.

"Different" is defined with reference to Greeks, and "what is right" (*θέμις*) is measured by a Greek standard.[6] Thus these peoples are included in a Greek spatial system, not because the Argonauts come into any direct relations with them, and not through any physical annexation, but through the Hellenocentric definition of them as "other" to the Greeks. This representation through symmetrical inversions of themselves is a way for Greeks to seek to understand parts of the world that are outside the reach of their own culture and impervious to it.

In an excellent discussion of Apollonius's representation of these three peoples, Christophe Cusset takes the binary opposition it constructs between Greeks and non-Greeks as representative of the whole *Argonautika*'s representation of ethnic difference: Greeks are civilized (and civilizers), whereas others are "savage."[7] I think that the poem's treatment of this theme, though it encompasses such an antithesis, is considerably more complex. It is remarkable that the representation of others as polar opposites of the Greeks occurs only here in the entire poem, and here we suddenly get three examples in a row. Why now? The answer, surely, is that such a simplified portrayal results from an external and distanced perspective that replaces direct contact and that is

4. On the Chalybes and the ritual and mythological significance of smiths in archaic societies, which would match their location in this unmastered space, see Vasileva 1998: 75.

5. This series, with its emphasis on sexuality and gender roles, also leads up to Colchis where, as we know from Phineus's prophecy (2.423–24), Aphrodite will play a role: Hurst 1998: 285.

6. The reader is presumed to share this Greek perspective, being included in the subject of the verb in line 1021: "as many things as *we* do [*πεπονήμεθα*] in our houses. . . ."

7. Cusset 2004a: 39–44. There are several points of convergence between his reading of these passages and mine, arrived at independently.

adopted because the Argonauts are sailing past places that remain alien to them. When they actually come into contact with non-Greeks, the latter are perceived in a more complicated way, through varying combinations of similarity and difference; Lykos is a good example, and we will see the same thing in Colchis and the Adriatic Sea. Thus Apollonius places the "inversion" model of foreignness within a much wider range of responses to cultural difference. Perhaps we can understand his conspicuous imitations of Herodotean ethnography in this series of peoples as a comment on it. The model of alterity that depicts the other as a symmetrical inversion of the self may have served Herodotus's view of the world, but it will not suffice in the multi-ethnic environment in which Apollonius wrote.

Thus after the Argonauts leave Cape Acherousia there seems to be a gradual loss of spatial control, both because they leave almost no signs of their passage and because they do not come into contact with any of the peoples whom they pass. There can be no question of the intersection of different trajectories in these places or of a reorientation of their history. For the most part, the Argonauts sail past them and the narrator describes their inhabitants. When they do land, in the territory of the Amazons, we have another case of failed contact, and this time it is just as well. If they had stayed and done battle with the Amazons, they would not have gotten off without bloodshed, but a favorable wind sprang up and they set sail, just as the Amazons were arming themselves (2.985–95). Conceptually, then, these peoples can be included in a Greek construction of space as "other," but in the absence of cultural contact and actual relations they remain autonomous, in sharp contrast to the colonial spaces we have discussed. This region is therefore a space of ambivalence, on the margin, where cultural distinctions cannot be negotiated or bridged.

The Island of Ares

This ambivalent space provides a setting for the one large-scale episode that occurs within it, when the Argonauts make their final landing before reaching Colchis on the Island of Ares (2.1030–1227). Here, Phineus prophesied enigmatically, a benefit would come from the cruel sea (2.388–89). The island seems an unlikely place for good fortune. Before they can land, birds hurl their feathers as missiles down on them, and they have to defend themselves against the forces of a mythologized natural world. Their use of interlocking shields for protection suggests the power of human cultural resources to protect against the powers of nature, the *mêtis*, "clever contrivance," that Phineus told them to devise here (2.383, 1058), but the likening of the birds to Homeric warriors[8]

8. The simile at 2.1077–79, which inverts the one at *Il.* 3.1–7. The birds' screech is described by the common Homeric word for a human battle cry, ἀυτή (2.1079).

only emphasizes how other-worldly this place is. The Argonauts drive the birds away by beating their shields in imitation of Herakles' device against the Stymphalian birds (2.1052–57), but it is never clear whether they rid the island of them permanently.

When the Argonauts land on the island, the action shifts from the military to the social and religious planes. The four outcasts they meet—shipwrecked, lacking clothes, food, and shelter, reduced, like Odysseus when he washes up on Skheria, to the most basic state of humanity—appeal to them in the name of those essential Greek institutions, hospitality and supplication (2.1131–33):

> *ἀλλ' ἱκέτας ξείνους Διὸς εἵνεκεν αἰδέσσασθε*
> *Ξεινίου Ἱκεσίου τε· Διὸς δ' ἄμφω ἱκέται τε*
> *καὶ ξεῖνοι. ὅ δέ που καὶ ἐπόψιος ἄμμι τέτυκται.*
>
> But respect suppliants and strangers for Zeus's sake—
> Zeus, protector of strangers and suppliants. Both suppliants and strangers
> belong to Zeus, and he, I think, watches over us.

The repetitions of the name of Zeus stress the seriousness of the Argonauts' duty to help these men, and the double chiasmus represents supplication and hospitality as intertwined elements of the Greek social and religious formation. When the Argonauts accept this plea, and when, moreover, they learn that the strangers before them are of partial Greek descent and in fact are the sons of Phrixos and therefore Jason's cousins, we see that a Greek community is being recreated between men who started from opposite ends of the *Argo*'s itinerary but have in common this cultural tradition and its values along with kinship. Its distinctive character appears in sharp relief against the setting: a hostile, alien environment sacred to Ares, god of war, inhabited by ferocious bird-warriors and accessible only to Amazons who invert basic Greek cultural categories.

Difference in cultural codes is exactly what the ensuing scene of sacrifice stresses. The Argonauts and the sons of Phrixos go to the temple in which the Amazons worship Ares in the form of an aniconic black stone, so different from the cult statues in Greek temples. They evidently do not go inside but sacrifice sheep on the pebble hearth in front of the building. It is not *θέμις* (right and sanctified by custom, here expressing a non-Greek viewpoint), we are told, for the Amazons to sacrifice sheep or cattle on this hearth, but they make annual sacrifices of horses (2.174–76); horses were not, as a rule, sacrificial animals for Greeks.[9] The Argonauts thus temporarily use this foreign cult place for a Greek rite. What they do, however, falls short of appropriating the island to a Greek spatial system. They use the Amazons' altar, as they use the

9. For rare and very special exceptions, see Burkert 1983, index s.v. "horse sacrifice."

island, and then depart, leaving no permanent memorial of their presence behind to mark the island. But their use of this space is still significant because they recreate Greek cultural relations in this unwelcoming environment.

Just before remote Colchis, and, I suggest, in preparation for it, Greek values and cultural cohesion are emphatically asserted in this deserted place (ἐρημαίη, 2.385—a notion that, as we saw in Chapter 4, can mean "marked by signs of another culture" rather than "empty"). In Colchis, however, relations will be much more complex than an oversimplified duality of Greek and non-Greek. This situation is already hinted at by the presence of the Phrixids, of mixed Greek and Colchian parentage.

Colchis: "There" or "Here"?

When the Argonauts finally reach Colchis, this is their first sight of their outward journey's goal (2.1246–50):

> καὶ δὴ νισομένοισι μυχὸς διεφαίνετο Πόντου
> καὶ δὴ Καυκασίων ὀρέων ἀνέτελλον ἐρίπναι
> ἠλίβατοι, τόθι γυῖα περὶ στυφέλοισι πάγοισιν
> ἰλλόμενος χαλκέῃσιν ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι Προμήθευς
> αἰετὸν ἤπατι φέρβε παλιμπετὲς ἀίσσοντα.
>
> Look! The recess of Pontos appeared as they sailed.
> Look! The heights of the Caucasus mountains rose up,
> sheer heights, where, his limbs bound to the sharp crags
> by unbreakable bronze fetters, Prometheus
> kept feeding the eagle with his liver as it flew back and forth.

With the emphasis on the visual in the first line ("appeared"), the east coast of the Black Sea is conjured up as a physical presence, not only for the Argonauts[10] through whom it is "focalized" but also for the reader, who is invited to look as well (καὶ δή, at the head of two successive lines).[11] In imagination we see a remote place, the "recess" of the Black Sea, its "farthest bounds" (ἔσχατα πείρατα Πόντου, 2.1261). Over it tower the sheer cliffs of the Caucasus range, where Prometheus is chained in punishment for his deception of Zeus in the division of meat and his theft of fire for mortals.[12] Immediately after the lines quoted above the Argonauts see Zeus's huge eagle and hear its shriek as it flies over them for its daily feast on Prometheus's liver, the draft from its enormous

10. See the excellent remarks of Fränkel 1968: 318.

11. For this combination of particles "marking vivid perception by mind, ear, or eye," see Denniston 1966: 250–51.

12. Hes. *Theog.* 535–616. This passage is evoked by the repetition in 2.1249 of the rare word ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι from *Theog.* 521.

wings shaking the *Argo*'s sails; and a little later they hear Prometheus's screams of agony.[13] Their (our) initial experience of this place comes through the body and its several senses. And it is important that Prometheus forms part of these initial impressions. In historical times there were Greek settlements in Colchis,[14] but Apollonius ignores that and associates this place instead with the painful beginnings of human culture in conflicts between superhuman powers.[15] Right at the beginning, Colchis is experienced with the full force of its alterity. It is a place beyond human control, ruled by Aietes whose father is the Sun, where dangerous forces converge that can only be confronted, in the end, with the aid of magical unguents.

In these lines as elsewhere in the poem, a perspective is constructed for the reader that centers on Greece and on a period of evolved human culture. Colchis is remote both spatially and chronologically. It is a "there" opposed to "here," "then" by contrast to "now."[16] It is easy to imagine a telling of the Argonautic story that was structured on the conventional opposition between Greeks and others in such a way as to demonstrate (yet again) Hellenic superiority—a version, in fact, like Dionysius Skytobrachion's. If that were all there was to say about the matter, the *Argonautika* would be a far less interesting text than it is. In Book 3 especially, the Greek-centered perspective, although still dominant, is offset, qualified, and revealingly supplemented by other viewpoints. These perspectives are formed by spatial orientation, and they have implications for issues of cultural difference. In all that follows, it is important to bear in mind that, according to Herodotus, the Colchians were Egyptian in origin (Chapter 2). In what is by far the most expanded episode in the poem of a pause in a particular place, problems in cultural contact that faced Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt are being played out at a safe distance but through an only thinly disguised substitution.

According to the spatial scheme constructed in the poem, Colchis is at one extremity of the world and opposed to Libya (1.84–85). It is also placed in relation to Greece as the end point of the voyage that began there. Just as the living of space always involves emotional attachments to some places and feelings of

13. See Byre 1996; 2002: 51–54, who discusses this episode as an example of the way the narrator in this poem gives the reader more information than the characters have, but still not enough for complete understanding.

14. Braund 1994: 73–121.

15. This reference to the divine succession myth has been anticipated by the description of one of the last places the Argonauts pass before their arrival, the island of Philyra, which is named after the mother of the centaur Kheiron by Kronos, Zeus's father and ruler of the Titans (2.1231–41). Kheiron, as we have seen, makes a brief appearance in the poem at 1.553–58. His transplantation from the east to Greece is one of three such migrations mentioned in the poem, those of Pelops (2.358–59) and Dionysus (2.905–6) being the others. These stories help question the absoluteness of the boundary between Greek and other.

16. This pattern is set in the opening lines of Book 3, where ἔνθεν, "from there," should be taken with both ἀνήγαγε, "brought back [the fleece]," and ἔνισπε, "tell me." For discussion see Wray 2000: 245, as opposed to Gillies 1928: 1, and Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: II, 50, who take it only with the former, and Fränkel 1968: 328–29, who takes it only with the latter.

estrangement from others, so the Argonauts feel affection for Greece as their home and, at least until they get there, think of Colchis simply as somewhere else. Before they set sail from Pagasae, for example, Jason prays to Apollo in this way (1.415–16):

> *αὐτὸς νῦν ἄγε νῆα σὺν ἀρτεμέεσσιν ἑταίροις*
> *κεῖσέ τε καὶ παλίνορσον ἐς Ἑλλάδα.*
>
> Come now, you yourself bring the ship with comrades unharmed
> there and back again to Hellas.

Their goal is not to reach Colchis but to get home. When Phineus tells them of the eastward journey in store for them, Jason's first response, in one of his moods of helpless melancholy, is to ask about their homecoming, *νόστος* (2.408–18). To Jason, the journey to Colchis consists of "paths" (*κέλευθοι*), but the trip back is a *νόστος*. This noun and the related verb and adjective occur forty-one times in the *Argonautika*, in all instances but one in reference to the Argonauts' return to Iolkos as the object of desire.[17] For readers of the poem "homecoming" has especial emotional depth because of its similar importance in the *Odyssey*. It represents an important way in which Greece is opposed to Colchis and forms the spatial and emotional center of reference in the poem. The name for Greece, *Hellas*, functions in a similar way. Of its thirty occurrences, twenty-seven are in speeches and two more in indirect speech. It is thus invested with the speaker's feelings about Greece.[18] When Jason speaks the name, it is tinged with ideas of safety and comfort by contrast with the hazards of the voyage, as in the lines quoted above. Four times he associates it with *νόστος*, "homecoming," twice in the phrase "a homecoming back to Hellas (*ἐς Ἑλλάδα νόστος ὀπίσσω*, 1.336, 2.414; cf. 3.993, 4.98). In a speech reminiscent of battlefield exhortations in earlier poetry, he invokes Hellas as the fatherland along with the Argonauts' sons and parents (4.202–205: a rather strange speech since he is urging his companions to run away from Colchis and Aietes).[19] Apollonius's use of Hellas to refer to a culturally unified Greek peninsula is especially interesting because it is blatantly anachronistic, as he surely knew; in Homer it names a district in northern Greece particularly associated with Achilles.[20] But the word would have had great significance to his Greek readers under the dispersed conditions of the Hellenistic period, and no doubt especially so in the early part of that period. It would have encouraged them to view the world from Greece outward like the Argonauts even when

17. The exception is 3.596, to be discussed presently. I am leaving out of account the problematical 2.352.

18. Cf. Griffin 1986, on Homer.

19. Hunter 1988: 439–40.

20. I am leaving aside the anomalous *Πανέλληνες* of *Il.* 2.530. On this, see Kirk 1985: 202. If the line is genuine, it may reflect an incipient Panhellenism in the early archaic period (cf. Hes. *W.D.* 528, 653), but that does not affect my point here. On the development of the concepts of Hellas and Hellenes see Lévy 1991. On Apollonius's use of the term as anachronistic, see Beye 1982: 147–48.

they were not physically there.[21] What more effective way could there have been to arouse nostalgic feelings for the homeland than to invite readers to look back on it from a position, offered to them through the imagination, in Colchis at the eastern end of the earth, where Jason continues to refer to Hellas in an emotionally loaded way?

Alongside this spatial orientation centered on Greece, however, the text offers other perspectives. The Phrixids' voyage to Orchomenos in Thessaly to get their father's wealth is inversely symmetrical to the *Argo*'s journey to Colchis; both follow the same itinerary in opposite directions to retrieve precious objects.[22] What is a return home (to Colchis) for the Phrixids is for the Argonauts the end point of their journey, and vice versa. Iolkos and Colchis have precisely opposite meanings for the two groups. In this case, however, the Greek perspective is allowed to predominate. When the Phrixids are shipwrecked and taken on board the *Argo*, their voyage is assimilated to that of the Greeks. As Clare points out, for them homecoming means not success but failure,[23] so that the one time in the poem that the word *νοστεῖν*, "to return home," is used in connection with someone other than the Argonauts (3.596) is highly significant. The Phrixid Argos attributes the shipwreck to the flimsiness of Colchian ships, which he contrasts with the *Argo* (3.340–46).[24] Especially in view of the cultural meaning of ships and the skill (*mêtis*) that navigation requires and whose patroness is Athena, it is easy to hear in his words a statement of Greek superiority. Phrixos's wealth will remain in Orchomenos, and the Golden Fleece, which originated there, will be brought back: here the symmetry ends. The Phrixids themselves, who are of mixed parentage, act as Colchians in seeking to bring their father's possessions "home." But once they board the *Argo*, they act as Greeks. They are firmly on Jason's side against their grandfather Aietes, and they play an important role in Jason's success by furnishing Medea with a pretext for helping him. With them, the boundary between Greek and Colchian is drawn in favor of Hellenism.[25]

Other perspectives are not so easily absorbed, and Book 3 offers a number of shifts in orientation in which Greece becomes "there" and Colchis is "here." In the first speech by a Colchian that Jason and we hear, Khalkiope, the

21. On the importance of the concept of Hellas under diasporic conditions (in this case those of Neohellenism), see Leontis 1995.

22. Cf. Clare 2002: 105–6.

23. Clare 2002: 109. He suggests that this fact raises the possibility that the Argonauts will fail. I would emphasize instead a sharp contrast.

24. Nomenclature perhaps promotes this contrast. Argos, the most prominent Phrixid, has the same name as the Greek who built the *Argo* under Athena's direction.

25. A similar contrast occurs at the end of the Argonauts' stay in Colchis. What is for Jason a return home is for Medea a voyage away from home to an alien place, and when the *Argo* leaves the north bank of the Phasis to stop at the opposite bank for the Golden Fleece and then to set sail for Greece, Medea's stretching out her hands back toward home (4.106–7) recalls Jason's anguish at the departure from Iolkos (1.534–35). In this case, however, it would be difficult to speak of the absorption of a non-Greek into a Greek perspective, since in her witchcraft Medea remains a foreigner, irreducibly other to the Greeks.

Phrixids' mother, makes a slighting reference to Greece when she greets her sons (3.262–64):

> δειλὴ ἐγώ, οἷον πόθον Ἑλλάδος ἔκποθεν ἄτης
> λευγαλέης Φρίξοιο ἐφημοσύνῃσιν ἔθεσθε
> πατρός.
>
> What a desire for Hellas you conceived from some
> destructive folly at the commands of Phrixos,
> your father—to my misery!
> (Or: what a desire for destructive Hellas you conceived
> from some folly. . . .)[26]

From her point of view Colchis is home and Greece is a dimly understood "other" place, a goal of male enterprise and dangerous. In her attitude to her sons' journey to Greece she resembles Jason's mother in her grief at her son's departure for Colchis. After the lines just quoted, Khalkiope asks why her sons wanted to abandon her and go off to Orchomenos's city, "whoever that Orchomenos is" (3.265–67). To Khalkiope, the remote ends of the earth are where "not even the name of the Colchians" is known (3.679–80), but from the Greek perspective Colchis is one of those extremities.[27] Greeks may see the world from Greece outward, but Colchians center their spatial knowledge on their own land. Spatial understandings are relative, depending as they do on one's geographical and cultural horizons, and passages such as these destabilize the Greece-centered sense of space that is implicit, for example, in the references to Colchis by the deictic "there."

Khalkiope speaks the name Hellas in a far different emotional register from Jason's tone when he utters it. Aietes also is unimpressed by the idea of Greece. He throws back Argos's introduction of Jason as the one "on whose account the others gathered from Hellas" (3.356) contemptuously: "you have come here [δεῦρο] accompanying them from Hellas not to get the fleece but to get the scepter and the royal power" (3.375–76). For him, Colchis is "here," not "there," and the Argonauts have to contend with an alien and unsympathetic king in this foreign place.[28] He boasts that he is better than Pelias, and he is thus a "barbarian" matching Greek claims of superiority. When he says that he

26. I have departed from the Budé edition in line 263 and printed Fränkel's ἔθεσθε, which is more idiomatic than Huet's ἕλεσθε (printed in the Budé text) or Fränkel's earlier ἔνεσθε: see Hunter 1989: 127. In the same line, λευγαλέης can go with the adjacent ἄτης; but it could just as well modify Ἑλλάδος, with emphatic postponement to the beginning of the next line, and so I have given alternative translations.

27. Hunter 1989: 172. On the different spatial perspectives in Book 3, see also Clare 2002: 119–21. Jason, speaking to Medea, refers in turn to his home district of Thessaly as a place where not even the name of "the island of Aiaia" can be heard. His language bears out his statement of ignorance: he repeats Medea's "mistake" (3.1074) in thinking that Aiaia, her aunt Kirke's home in the far west, is an island (they will find out otherwise in Book 4). Jason and Khalkiope exemplify how knowledge of the world differs according to spatial orientation.

28. On the textual problems in these lines see Hunter 1989: 140. Vian (2002: II, 123) recognizes the lines as an echo of Argos's words in line 356.

will give Jason the fleece after an ordeal, he adds, "in the case of noble men I am not grudging, as you yourselves say that ruler in Hellas is" (*ἐσθλοῖς γὰρ ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν οὔτι μεγαίρω / ὡς αὐτοὶ μυθεῖσθε τὸν Ἑλλάδι κοιρανέοντα*, 3.405–6). It would be possible, of course, to dismiss Khalkiope as hopelessly parochial and Aietes as too crude to appreciate Greek culture; and a resolutely Hellenocentric reader could probably find support in the text for such an interpretation—at the cost, however, of ignoring other elements of the poem. Although the Greek-centered world view does seem to be a prominent impulse detectable in the narrative, juxtaposed Greek and Colchian perspectives comment on one another in a way that at times blurs the distinction between Greek and other.

So, when Jason offers to spread Aietes' fame "through all of Hellas" (3.391–92) and later makes similar promises to Medea (3.992–96, 1122–27), is he offering these "barbarians" an opportunity to become well known where it counts, or is he taking a parochial viewpoint? This doubt is aggravated by the ironic allusion in these passages to Euripides' *Medea* 536–40, where Jason justifies his betrayal of Medea by listing his benefits to her, first among them that he civilized her by bringing her to Greece, and by claiming that she got fame because "all the Greeks found out about your skill." Medea's own concession of superiority to Greece is beset with ironies (3.1105–8):

> *Ἑλλάδι που τάδε καλὰ, συνημοσύνας ἀλεγύνειν·*
> *Αἰήτης δ' οὐ τοῖος ἐν ἀνδράσιν οἷον ἔειπας*
> *Μίνω Πασιφάης πόσιν ἔμμεναι, οὐδ' Ἀριάδνῃ*
> *ἰσοῦμαι· τῶ μή τι φιλοξενίην ἀγόρευε.*
>
> In Hellas, I suppose, this is prized—to honor agreements.
> But Aietes is not such among men as you said
> Minos, Pasiphae's husband is, nor am I Ariadne's
> equivalent. So don't talk about respect for guests.

If Jason alludes to his Euripidean persona, so does Medea to hers. "Gone is trust in oaths," she had said to Jason in Euripides' play (492). ". . . Alas, right hand, which you so often grasped!" (496).[29] In this light, Apollonius's Medea is naïve about Greek virtue, although she is correct enough about Aietes' bad faith. In addition, Medea has accepted Jason's version of Ariadne's story, to which her own will turn out to be parallel in unanticipated ways,[30] but which

29. In the *Argonautika* Jason does in fact clasp Medea's right hand in his, in the scene on the riverbank in Book 4 (*ὡς ηὔδα, καὶ χεῖρα παράσχεδον ἥρπαρε χειρὶ / δεξιτέρην*, 99–100: "with these words he immediately fit his right hand to hers"—note how *right* hand gets emphasis from the enjambment). This gesture follows Jason's oath to marry her when they get back to Greece. He does in fact marry her, but before that, when the Colchians catch up with the *Argo* in the Adriatic, he almost comes to terms with them and gives her up.

30. Jason will marry Medea as Theseus married Ariadne in the invented part of his story, and like Ariadne in the part of the traditional tale that Jason has glossed over, Medea will be abandoned in Greece by the man for whom she betrayed her father.

Jason has probably dishonestly tailored to fit his own rhetorical purposes.[31] If one is to judge from Jason, honesty and honoring commitments may not be Greek traits after all.

In many respects, spatial distance translates into cultural difference between Colchians and Greeks, as Vian says,[32] but that difference is not absolute; there are points of overlap and similarity. What the Argonauts find in Colchis is not completely different from what they are familiar with in Greece. At the end of their eastward journey, they encounter a harsh king who has received divine warning that someone will depose him and who therefore is jealous of his position, has sent potential rivals off on a trip to Greece (3.594–605), and, suspicious of Jason for the same reason (3.375–76), sets him an ordeal that he expects will dispose of the threat. But that is the situation that Jason left behind in Iolkos.[33] Colchis is also not entirely foreign because a Greek has already settled there—Phrixos, whom Aietes took into his house and to whom he gave his daughter in marriage. It is easy to label Aietes himself a barbarian because of his might and ferocity, but this side of his character goes along with his descent from Helios, the Sun. He lives at the earth's eastern extremity where his father's orb rises every morning, and he amuses himself with the brazen bulls and adamantine plow that Hephaistos forged to return a favor to Helios. But there is another son of Helios among the Argonauts, Augeias, who is included in the embassy to Aietes evidently for this reason (3.197), who joined the expedition because he was eager to see Colchis and Aietes (1.174–75), and whom Argos introduces to Aietes as a kinsman (3.362–63). Another example of a child of Helios living in Greece is Pasiphae, Ariadne's mother. It is thus difficult to consign Aietes' exotic qualities to the ends of the earth and mark them off completely as non-Greek.

Aietes, in fact, is a complex character.[34] His harshness is noted by others in the poem (e.g., 2.1202–3), and he lives up to his reputation. But his house strongly evokes the Phaiakians in the *Odyssey*, and like them he observes the norms of hospitality, as he did with Phrixos.[35] This point is equivocal because,

31. Hunter 1989: 208 suggests that Apollonius may have drawn on a pre-existing version of the Ariadne myth for which we have no other source. This seems to me a doubtful proposition. If there was a version of the story like Jason's the scholia are uncharacteristically silent about it. They emphasize the deceptiveness in Jason's telling of it (on lines 997–1004a and 1100–1101).

32. Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: II, 19.

33. Cf. Levin 1971: 22–23.

34. I would disagree with Vian 2002: II, 21: "En un mot, l'un [Jason] incarne les vertus propres à l'Hellade, l'autre [Aietes] est le type même du tyran barbare." For an excellent brief description of Aietes, see Hunter 1991: 90–92, especially: "The depiction of Aietes—like the epic as a whole and, indeed, like Ptolemaic culture itself—challenges the oppositions and values of the *Odyssey* and, by implication, the apparent security of the Hellenic self-definition as we see it in Odysseus and his family." Williams 1996 similarly argues that "the figure of Aeëtes delightfully confounds Apollonius' supposed distinction between Greek and barbarian" (p. 476). For discussion of ambivalence in his portrayal created by Apollonius's deployment of Odyssean models, see Bettenworth 2005.

35. The whole episode of Jason's visit to Aietes' house is structured on Book 7 of the *Odyssey*, as Knight 1995: 226–30 shows. But the effect of the sustained allusion is not a simple contrast between Aietes and Alkinoos, as she suggests, but a combination of similarities and differences that contributes to the complexity in the Colchian ruler's portrayal.

whereas Jason, before meeting him, says that Aietes' reception of Phrixos shows that he respects Zeus (3.190–93), Aietes himself later tells the Colchians that he would never have taken Phrixos in if Zeus had not sent Hermes to command him to do so (3.584–88). But the gentle Kyzikos similarly gave the Argonauts hospitality as a result of a divine warning, and Aietes does after all obey Zeus. Even in his anger, he will not kill his guest. "If you hadn't touched my table first," he tells Jason, "I would have cut off your tongue and lopped off both hands and sent you on your way just with your feet, so that you later think twice about making such an attempt, and because you have told such lies about the blessed gods" (3.377–81). The violence is there, but he restrains it rather than violate hospitality; and as the last line shows he respects the gods—Greek gods.

Before Jason's ordeal, it is Aietes who has the arming scene that epic conventions lead us to expect (3.1225–45)[36]—one that makes him seem both a heroic warrior and a terrible god: when he mounts his chariot brought to him by his son (nicknamed Phaethon), he resembles his father Helios. Jason does have an arming scene of sorts, when he smears Medea's ointment of invincibility on his body and spear (3.1246–48),[37] but its uniqueness in epic highlights his reliance on magic. What does it mean, then, to behave like a Greek, and how does "barbarian" conduct differ from it?

What right does Jason have to the fleece?[38] Aietes refers contemptuously to "brigands . . . whose profession it is to reach their hands to the possessions of others [*ὀθνείοις . . . κτεάτεσσιν*] and to craft secret treacheries" (3.590–92), and he uses a similar phrase later (3.403). This is his view of the matter, but Jason uses similar language: "who would willingly dare to cross such a great expanse of the swelling sea for someone else's property [*ὀθνεῖον ἐπὶ κτέρας*]?" (3.388–99). We could take these words as just diplomatic if earlier he had not said to his men, "let us not use force to deprive this man of his own property [*σφέτερον κτέρας*]—at least not before we try him with words" (3.185–86). Jason knows that he is asking for the gift of something to which he has no automatic right; that is why he offers, in the spirit of Homeric-style reciprocity, to fight any enemy Aietes may have (3.350–53, 392–95; note *ἀποτῖσαι ἀμοιβήν* in the latter passage).[39] It is sometimes said that the standards of hospitality oblige Aietes to give the fleece to Jason. In Homer a host regularly does give a gift to a guest on the latter's departure, but the fleece would be no guest-gift; it is something

36. Beye 1982: 141. On the Homeric reminiscences in this passage, see Knight 1995: 102–3.

37. Knight 1995: 103–4. Beye 1982: 141, who considers Jason's ritual to Hekate the previous night the equivalent to his arming scene, points out that as he goes to perform it he is compared to a thief in the night (3.1197).

38. For good sense on this question see Byre 2002: 71. Even if *Jason* regards himself "as having a sort of moral right to ask for [the fleece] and to be given it," that does not have to determine the reader's perspective.

39. Herakles performed a similar service for the Mariandynoi (2.786–91), but that was an act of unreciprocated generosity.

Jason has come to ask for, not something Aietes offers, or is obliged to offer, as part of a ritual of generosity that would establish relations of *xenia* between the two men. What he does is within the bounds of accepted behavior in epic poetry, if the example of Bellerophon in the *Iliad* is any guide (6.178–95).[40] He will give his guest the fleece if Jason will prove himself worthy to have it because he is equal to Aietes (3.405–8).[41] It is only because the poem so often assumes a Greek-centered perspective that readers are apt to feel, without consciously raising the question, that Jason should be given the fleece; but some passages in the text go against such an assumption.

Thus the narrative both constructs an opposition between Greece and Colchis and at the same time destabilizes it through shifts in spatial perspective and by softening the differences between the two places' inhabitants. The dragon's teeth, an essential element in Jason's ordeal, make a further connection between "here" and "there." While Telamon and Aithalides go to fetch the teeth for Jason from Aietes, Apollonius tells how Kadmos killed the serpent guarding Ares' spring in an act that would lead to the founding of Thebes (3.1176–87). When Kadmos sowed some of the teeth, armed warriors grew from the earth and killed one another, except for five who survived and founded what became the leading families of Thebes, the "Spartoi" or "sown ones." Athena gave the rest of the teeth to Aietes.[42] So the story now being told, of a trial set for a Greek hero by a "barbarian" king, is a doublet of an important narrative of city founding that portrays human culture arising from the destruction of primeval, monstrous forces and that in turn is related to the myth of Apollo's killing of the Python in order to establish his sanctuary at Delphi (referred to at 2.705–13).[43] This duplication can be read in two opposing ways at once. On the one hand, Jason's exploit in winning the fleece and taking it back to Greece has archetypal overtones as a civilizing mission: it vindicates Greek civilization by rescuing a talismanic object that is properly Greek from the pre-cultural "barbarian" world.[44] At the same time, can these worlds be kept entirely distinct when one of Greece's most important cities is based in those pre-civilized conditions and the connection continues through the descendants of the Spartoi?

40. This should answer Williams's statement that Aietes is depicted as cowardly because he will not fight Jason (1996: 472). In epic hospitality, hostility and competition are suspended. *Arg.* 3.377–79 should not be taken as "a marvelous parody of the Homeric obsession with guest-friends" but as a serious statement of the ethics of hospitality.

41. On this as a reasonable proposal, see Campbell 1983: 34–35. Cf. Williams 1996: 478. For the opposite view—that Aietes' unjust challenge justifies Jason's resort to magic and theft—see Dräger 2001: 121.

42. Apollonius did not invent this account of how Aietes got the teeth; his source was Pherekydes (Schol. on 3.1177–87b = *FrGH*. 3F22). But his choice to use it is significant, and it fits well into his complex portrayal of relations between Greece and Colchis.

43. See again Fontenrose 1959: 13–27, 306–20. These are, as he demonstrates, among many Greek versions of a "combat myth" about the defeat of forces of chaos. In particular, they are related to the myth of Zeus's triumph over Typhon or Typhoeus, beneath whose Caucasian rock, according to Apollonius, Earth gave birth to the serpent that guards the Golden Fleece (2.1208–15). The comparison of Amykos to Typhoeus (2.38) brings Polydeukes' boxing match with him into the orbit of the same myth complex.

44. Cf. Beye 1982: 140.

The founding of cities also appears in the story of the figure who straddles the distance between Colchis and Greece most interestingly, Prometheus. When Medea asks Jason about his homeland, he gives her this account (3.1085–95):

> ἔστι τις αἰπεινοῖσι περίδρομος οὔρεσι γαῖα,
> πάμπαν ἐύρρηνός τε καὶ εὔβοτος, ἔνθα Προμηθεὺς
> Ἰαπετιονίδης ἀγαθὸν τέκε Δευκαλίωνα,
> ὃς πρῶτος ποίησε πόλεις καὶ ἐδείματο νηοὺς
> ἀθανάτοις, πρῶτος δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων βασίλευσεν·
> Αἱμονίην δὴ τήν γε περικτίονες καλέουσιν.
> ἐν δ' αὐτὴ Ἰαωλκός, ἐμὴ πόλις, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι
> πολλαὶ ναετάουσιν, ἵν' οὐδέ περ οὔνομ' ἀκοῦσαι
> Αἰαίης νήσου· Μινύην γε μὲν ὁρμηθέντα,
> Αἰολίδην Μινύην, ἔνθεν φάτις Ὀρχομενοῖο
> δή ποτε Καδμείοισιν ὁμούριον ἄστυ πολίσσαι.
>
> There is a land surrounded by steep mountains,
> altogether rich in flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, where Prometheus,
> Iapetos's son, sired noble Deukalion,
> who first built cities and constructed temples
> to the immortals, and first became king over men.
> Those who dwell around it call it Haimonia [Thessaly].
> In it lies Iolkos, my city, and in it many other cities
> are established, where you would not even hear the name
> of the island of Aiaia. From there they say that Minyas set out,
> Minyas the son of Aiolos, and founded the city of Orchomenos,
> neighbor to the Kadmeians [Thebans].

It is Prometheus whose son Deukalion, after the flood, instituted human civilization by building cities and established civic order by being the first man to rule as king. And of course Deukalion was only continuing his father's benefits to humanity. For Prometheus gave humans the foundations of culture, which he enumerates in the tragedy *Prometheus Bound*, attributed to Aeschylus in antiquity (436–506)—a list that he summarizes by saying, "all crafts / arts [*τέχναι*] come to mortals from Prometheus" (506). In this sense, Prometheus stands for the progress and cultural achievements on which Greeks often prided themselves.[45] As we saw above, Jason expresses the Greek sense of distinction from the supposedly more primitive non-Greek world by saying that in Thessaly not even the name of "the island of Aiaia," Kirke's home and a place of dangerous magic, can be heard.

45. Even this might not be entirely straightforward. The name used for Thessaly, Haimonia, could mean "the place of blood [*haima*]." See Hunter 1989: 218, who suggests that in giving Medea the chance to go there with him Jason is offering "a . . . return for the blood of Prometheus which Medea has given to him." But along with that, we can see that here, as in so many other respects, the disturbing elements that the Greeks try to locate at a distance keep cropping back up within Greece.

But Prometheus also deceived Zeus, and has been chained in punishment on a peak of the Caucasus Mountains that tower above Colchis. He therefore belongs to the pre-cultural stage of cosmic history and stands for the resistance that Zeus had to overcome in order to institute his new dispensation. As culture hero and as defier of Zeus, Prometheus is both a progressive and a regressive figure.

An intriguing detail that we learn in Book 3 is that the drug of invincibility that Medea gives Jason was made of the juice of a plant that sprang up from blood dripped on the ground as the eagle was carrying a piece of Prometheus's liver back from its ghastly banquet—a drug that was therefore called *Promêthêïon* (3.844–66).[46] Is Prometheus then associated with the magic that expresses the "barbarian" side of Medea's nature? Or is he, as victim, a monument to the triumph of enlightenment over primitive violence and disorder by virtue of Zeus's victory over him? In that case, Jason's yoking of the brazen, fire-breathing bulls and his killing of the earth-born warriors with the aid of that drug repeats that triumph and the homologous exploits of Kadmos at Thebes and Apollo at Delphi[47]—with the defeat of disorder now expressed as the victory of Greek over "barbarian." How can these possibilities be separated? I would say that he embodies both. Because he connects Colchis with Greece and signifies both enlightened order and primeval chaos, Prometheus is an appropriate emblem of the ambiguities in cultural identity.[48] By belonging importantly in both Greece and the Caucasus mountains, he spatializes those ambiguities.

Prometheus brings together Greece and Colchis, "here" and "there." Their opposition underlies a significant part of the narrative in the Colchian episode, but a dualist model of self and other will not suffice for this poem. It rests on a simplified representation of space: "here" versus "there," the two related oppositionally to one another by movement between them. But this model is inadequate to the actual experience of the alien place, although it may be one way of thinking about that experience. It necessarily becomes complicated when that space is actually lived, as a relational space of cultural contact. Prometheus might serve as an emblem of this aspect of Colchian space, in all its ambiguities and contradictions.

It is this experience of ambiguity in a Colchis portrayed as a space of representation that the episode set there offers us. At points of cultural contact the boundaries of identity are likely to come under particular strain, and that is what Jason's story reflects. He sails to a place that is culturally "other," where

46. On this drug in the context of ancient magical practices, see Moreau 2000a.

47. And also of Herakles, who within the *Argonautika* kills earth-born giants in an anticipation of Jason's exploit. He will also, in Book 4, kill a giant serpent that guards golden objects in a tree, the apples of the Hesperides, as Jason takes the Golden Fleece from a tree guarded by a giant snake. See Fontenrose 1959: 345–46.

48. Prometheus also carries with him spatial significance from the *Prometheus Bound*, where the remoteness of the Caucasus range is graphically conveyed, and where he describes Io's future (700–741, 786–818) and past (829–41) wanderings, which cover much of the known (or imagined) world.

the debris of earlier stages of the evolution of the world-order has ended up and is still active, where a king still sows dragon's teeth (Kadmos did it only once, to found a city) after yoking bronze bulls forged and animated by Hephaistos, where a monstrous serpent like those vanquished in Greece guards the object of his quest in a grove sacred to the war-god Ares. How can he preserve intact the standards of his homeland in the face of such forces? And so he wins in what, by traditional Greek standards, is a most un-heroic way, not by strength alone but by resorting to magic and a woman's help through the power of Eros. Irrational, "primitive" traits cannot just be projected onto distant peoples but are shown to have their place in the self. At the same time, the people he encounters have their own spatial perspective and seem in some ways not very different from Greeks. This experience of strangeness and familiarity does not erase the distinction between self and other, but it does open it up to question and redefinition.

These same ambiguities will appear when we consider Colchis in more detail as a signifying space.

The Organization of Space in Colchis

We get an idea of the general topography of Colchis cumulatively, from Phineus's prophecy of the Argonauts' journey (2.397–407), then from the description as the *Argo* enters the Phasis River (2.1264–70), from the account of the Colchians and the Argonauts taking their places to watch Jason's contest (3.1268–77), and finally from the fetching of the Golden Fleece (4.109–89). Not far above the southeastern corner of the Black Sea the Phasis flows out of the mountains and across the plain, and discharges into the sea. North of the Phasis and a little inland is the city of Aietes, its towers visible from the river and separated from it by a plain. Behind the plain, to the east, loom the Caucasus Mountains, and near the river banks are marshlands. South of the river and the length of a race course upstream from the city stretches the Plain of Ares. On the plain is a grove sacred to Ares, in which the Golden Fleece hangs in an oak tree, guarded by a gigantic serpent that never sleeps. The grove is reached by a path that begins at the river at a place called the Ram's Bed (*Kriou Eunai*), because it was here that the golden ram that carried Phrixos to Colchis on its back first bent its knees in exhaustion. Here too are the foundations of an altar blackened with smoke, which Phrixos built to honor Zeus *Phyxios* (The Deliverer), and on which he sacrificed the ram on Hermes' advice (4.114–21).[49] Here Jason and

49. These are the only two *aitia* connected with Colchis in the poem. They perhaps mark the landscape with Greek associations, but to little effect. After all, they commemorate the arrival of Phrixos and the ram at a place where Phrixos will settle without disturbing local control of the land; and the act of deliverance by Zeus commemorated by the altar is his saving Phrixos from being sacrificed by his father—an attempt not much to Greece's credit.

Medea will disembark from the *Argo* to "recover" the Golden Fleece, and from here they will depart for the mouth of the Phasis and the Black Sea, on the homeward voyage that will reverse Phrixos's journey from Greece to Colchis. Other important places are Aietes' house within the city and the temple of Hekate outside it. Occasionally we are reminded that Colchis—or the part of it that is the setting for the action—is one place within a wider spatial context: by Eros's synoptic view of the earth from the gates of Olympos (3.159–66); by the spatial description of night that is set against Medea's restlessness within her room in Aietes' house (3.744–50: the sailors out at sea who look toward the Bear and Orion for direction, the wayfarer (in motion) and the door-keeper (stationary) who long for sleep, and the mother whose children have died sunk in slumber); and by the range of the serpent's hiss that not only echoes in the grove and along the banks of the Phasis but is heard far away from Aietes' city, by those who dwell along the Lykos River in a part of Colchis that is inland from the plain of the Phasis and probably to the southeast, where women who have just given birth wake in alarm and put protecting arms around their frightened children (4.129–37).[50]

Aside from these exceptional passages, however, Aia—Aietes' city and the region in which it is set—is the focus of the narrative. It is a space comprising a number of places that take on meaning through the narrative of actions set there, and in relation to one another. So let us try to read this space, first as a system and then (in the next section) as it is defined by movements through it from one place to another as the narrative unfolds.

The most basic demarcation of space is the separation of the plain and grove of Ares from the city by the Phasis River. It opposes the superhuman and monstrous (the fire-breathing bulls, the serpent guarding the Golden Fleece) to the organized human culture in the city. That Aietes dominates in the city and at the same time is fully equal to the forces at work on the other side of the Phasis shows the dual potentialities of his nature and of the Colchians generally—the combination of familiarity and alterity in the Greeks' experience of them. Intermediate between these extremes is the Plain of Kirke that separates the city from the river. When Jason and his picked comrades go toward the city for the first time they are greeted with a spectacle that underscores the Colchians' difference from Greeks: corpses hanging by ropes from trees and wrapped in untanned ox-hides, far from the city (3.200–209). The narrator explains that even today the Colchians consider it a pollution (ἄγος) and wrong (not θέμις) to treat the dead as the Greeks do: cremate them or bury them in the earth and heap up a tomb (σῆμα) above them. But this is only true in the case of males.

50. On the mysterious geography in this passage see Delage 1930: 182–84; Fränkel 1968: 464–65; Livrea 1973: 46–48. The description of the Lykos River joining its stream with that of the Phasis, even though perhaps a geographical fantasy, completes Phineus's account of the course of the Phasis in 2.399–401. The complementary vignettes of mothers bind together the descriptions of night and the serpent's hiss.

Earth gets the same portion as the sky, since they bury females. They honor Sky and Earth especially, as the scholion on 3.202–9 says. The message conveyed by this place to the Greek visitors and to a Greek reader is the relativity of customs between cultures, especially if, as seems likely, there is a reference here to Herodotus's anecdote (3.38) about Dareios inquiring into Greek and Indian treatments of their dead.

The customs that confront the Argonauts have parallels in actual societies, and they may have been authentically Colchian.[51] At any rate, Apollonius did not invent them (the scholion says that his authority here was Nymphodorus); but he does fit them into the spatial system of Colchis as he depicts it. The Colchians consign corpses to places outside the city as impure and alien objects, but they also treat them in culturally and religiously prescribed ways, as the Greeks do in their own fashion. The plain of Kirke, then, partakes of both culture and the non-cultural. We learn what the latter can involve from the information that Medea knows her way around the plain well because she has often explored it in search of corpses and dangerous herbs for her magic (4.50–53).

The base of the Argonauts' activities in Colchis is their ship in the Phasis River, right on the boundary between places associated with what are for them the tamer and the more threatening aspects of the Colchians. The river has brought them away from the coast into an alien space that they can neither define nor control. At the same time, it will provide their way back to the sea, where they can hope to escape the pursuing Colchian ships. The *Argo*, as a seagoing ship, is not entirely at home in a river, as we shall see in Chapter 6; but as mobile Greek space, it provides the Argonauts with a center for their cultural identity in this unfamiliar environment. In a sign of how marginal they are, with at most a foothold in this land, when they first arrive they hide the ship in a marsh alongside the river (2.1281–84). Only after Jason's visit to Aietes, when they have established a connection with Aietes as his guests and adversaries, do they dare to move it and moor openly on the river-bank (3.568–75). They at their ship and Aietes in his palace constitute two contrasting centers of action whose spatial opposition expresses the cultural differences.

In the plain and outside the city is the temple of Hekate, and it is fitting that the cult of this powerful goddess, with her magical and underworld associations, be located in this area that has only ambivalent ties to human culture. For Medea, the two poles of activity are this building and her room in her father's house inside the city. Together, they express the complex combination within her of the "barbarian" witch and the virgin portrayed in Hellenizing

51. See Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: II, 117–18, especially 117: "Ces coutumes ont longtemps survécu dans le Caucase." Cf. Hunter 1989: 119–20.

fashion who is about to be exposed to mature sexuality.[52] Her movement from one place to the other is highly significant, as we shall see in the next section, and is given a full description in the text. Medea first enters the action, however, on an occasion when this movement did not occur, when Hera kept her from spending the day at the temple as she usually did in order to contrive her first meeting with Jason (3.250–52). This necessary element of the plot establishes the house and her room as the locus of her erotic conflict. When she next meets Jason, it will be in the temple, where she will betray her family and where her love for him will become enmeshed in her practice of magic.

With just a few landmarks and buildings, then, Apollonius creates a Colchian space that is a signifying system representing the variegated complexity of this people's nature, which is in turn embodied by Aietes and Medea. The connection of character with space is not coincidental. Places in Colchis and their interrelations were constituted by the uses people made of them, and these will have been culturally determined. Reciprocally, we can assume, those places confirmed and helped reproduce the cultural practices that molded them. Apollonius makes no attempt at a complete and detailed account of Colchis. This is a selective representation of a space that the Colchians (we can imagine) actually live. To see how selective it is, consider what we learn about the Colchians' city. It has towers (as we learn only when Medea leaves it for good, 4.47), at least two ways in and out, one public, the other hidden (3.874; 4.43, 47), and an assembly place at some location that is unspecified except that it is far from Aietes' house (3.576–77). And that is all. As Jason and his companions go to the city, Hera surrounds them with a mist, which she disperses "when they had gone from the plain to the city and the house of Aietes" (3.213–14). That is how summarily their trip is narrated. At its beginning the narrative lingers over the corpses in trees; at its end the Argonauts stand before Aietes' house and marvel at it. The house is given a full description as the place in the city that obviously is most important to the narrative. It too is a signifying space.

Earlier in the poem, there were occasions when Apollonius might have given detailed descriptions of houses, but did not.[53] For instance, the scene of Jason's leave-taking from his parents (1.261–306) takes place in their house in Iolkos, but the house is not explicitly mentioned until Jason leaves it (1.306); what matters is the boundary between inside and outside, which Jason crosses

52. To say that Medea's character (and Aietes') encompasses these different potentialities does not necessarily mean that their portrayal is incoherent: see Pietsch: 1999: 253–56. Mackie 2001 suggests that in the tradition Jason, whose name seems to mean "healer," was originally depicted as knowledgeable about potions and drugs but that this skill was transferred to Medea, and Jason was left ignorant of it, in accordance with the culturally accepted contrasts between Greek and barbarian and male and female. If so, then we can appreciate how Apollonius complicates those binary oppositions.

53. Aphrodite's house and bedchamber on Olympos provide a partial exception—few details are actually given—and will be discussed later.

at that point to begin his voyage. When the Argonauts are entertained by friendly hosts on the outward journey—by Lykos and after a fashion by Phineus (2.759, 304)—and also when Jason and Medea are purified by Kirke (4.690–91), only the *megaron* or hall is mentioned, but that is appropriate because this is the setting of hospitality conventionally in Homer.[54] Hypsipyle's house is given a sketchy description, but only as space that Jason passes through to get to the inner room where the queen awaits him (1.784–90). These sparse details are selected to match their contexts (hospitality, a sexual liaison); and so, we can suppose, the fuller description of Aietes' house also has a signifying function. When Jason pauses before Aietes' gate to marvel at the house (3.215–48), and the narrative pauses with him, the implication is that his entry into the house will be fraught with consequences, the progress of his relationship with Medea gradual and difficult.[55] The other houses mentioned in the poem are Homeric or later Greek, so that readers have an idea of them unaided by description.[56] But we are in a remote and unfamiliar land, and the house of the ruler, about whom, so far, we know only that he received Phrixos hospitably and that his anger is fierce (2.1147–49, 1202–3), might be expected to tell us something about him and, by extension, the Colchians. Significant actions will also take place in various parts of this house, and the different spaces will help shape those actions and will underscore their meanings.

To call this description detailed is to speak relatively: it actually is selective, and reconstructing the house from it, as others have attempted, is in some respects a matter of guesswork.[57] But the significant elements are clear enough. After Jason and his companions stand marveling at the exterior façade with its broad gates and its columns with bronze capitals supporting a portico (probably) and topped by a stone entablature, they cross the outer threshold into a courtyard with a garden.[58] We see this garden through their eyes, but we also read it through the filter of Homeric models. With its

54. The only detail given of Kyzikos's house is that he leaves his marriage chamber (*θάλαμος*, 1.978) to give hospitality to the Argonauts (no doubt in the *megaron*, but this is not mentioned), in a movement that will prove fatal to himself, his bride, and the promise of their marriage.

55. The importance of this moment is signaled by the word used for the entrance at which Jason stands—*προμολαί*, which, as we saw in Chapter 3, marks the end of one movement and the beginning of another.

56. The mention of a *megaron* is usually enough. Hypsipyle's house has a *παστάς*, "portico." This word is foreign to Homer but was familiar to a Hellenistic readership.

57. Gillies 1928: 135–36 gives a description with a helpful plan, but I would not accept all of his reconstruction. Campbell 1994: 191–94 also gives a full-scale account of various aspects of the passage; see also his individual notes, as well as those of Hunter 1989. Rougier-Blanc 2003 sorts out various terms for parts of the house. The passage is also discussed at length by Thiel 1993: 106–25. My purpose is not to reconstruct the house but to talk about the signifying function of its parts. This requires, of course, an understanding of the plan, for which I have relied on the aid of these writers, although I differ with one or another on several points.

58. They enter *εὔκηλοι*: surely not "in silence" (Gillies 1928: 28) but "unaccosted" or "at their leisure." This is important for several reasons. No one either greets them or tries to stop them: is this a good or bad sign? The impersonality of the house is maintained while they look at the marvelous garden in the courtyard, and we make inferences about the inhabitants from the spaces they live in. In a fine climax to the description, the first person they encounter will be Medea, after they have seen what the narrator wants us to know of the house.

luxuriant grape vines and its four springs flowing with milk, wine, fragrant oil, and water that runs warm in winter and cold in summer, it obviously evokes the garden of Alkinoos before which Odysseus stands and marvels (*Od.* 7.112–32).[59] But this connection has ambivalent implications and raises rather than answers questions about the Colchians. The other-worldly feeling that it lends Aietes' house could be either reassuring because of the golden-age associations of Alkinoos's garden or menacing because it indicates that the inhabitants are somehow beyond ordinary humanity. In addition, to evoke the Phaiakians is to suggest that the Colchians are extremely civilized, close to the gods, and righteous; it is also to suggest, misleadingly, that they are good sailors and unwarlike. On the other hand, the Phaiakians, descendants of Eurymedon, ruler of the "reckless Giants" (*Od.* 7.32–33), have their inhospitable and dangerous side,[60] and so will the Colchian son of Helios.[61] The possibility of an underlying menace is underscored by a dramatic departure from the Homeric description. Instead of the gold and silver dogs that Hephaistos made to guard Alkinoos's house and the golden youths holding torches that stand inside it (*Od.* 7.91–94, 100–102), we are informed of the fire-breathing bulls and the plow of adamant that the same god made for Aietes (3.230–34). This passage interrupts the description of the courtyard and directs our attention outside the house and across the river. The spatial conflation brings together the two sides of Aietes' nature.

If an Alkinoos-like king dwells here, then there must be a Nausikaa, virginal and ripe for marriage. And of course there is. In due course, Medea will drive a mule-cart out of the city to meet a handsome stranger (3.870–86) in a scene that unmistakably, but with rich ironies, imitates Book 6 of the *Odyssey*.[62] Like Odysseus, Jason will not stay and become the king's son-in-law (Phrixos did that); but unlike Odysseus, Jason will marry the girl despite her father and take her home with him. But Aietes' garden also evokes the setting of Kalypso's cave, which is described when Hermes stops and admires

59. For a detailed comparison of Jason's visit to Aietes' house and the Phaiakian episode of *Odyssey* 6–8, see Knight 1995: 226–32. Interestingly, in the *Argonautika*, when the Argonauts reach Phaiakia, there is no description of Alkinoos's house, just a bare mention of it (4.1068, 1112), and no scene of hospitality. The transfer of these things to Colchis has a parallel in the shift of the Homeric Sirens' song to the Libyan maidens (Chapter 4).

60. For details see Rose 1969.

61. Thiel 1993: 122 suggests that the whole description of the garden conveys to the reader an atmosphere of danger and foreboding (cf. Williams 1996: 470–71). The "broad gates" of the courtyard may echo the "broad gates" of Hades in Homer and other texts (Campbell 1994: 197). Cf. Rougier-Blanc 2003: 107, who points out that Apollonius uses *πύλαι* for the gates when *θύραι* would be expected in a domestic context. Dräger 2001: 80–84 perhaps goes too far in seeing the visit to Aietes as a *katabasis*; if there is a suggestion of Aietes as ruler of the underworld, he is also son of Helios, the god of light, and an Alkinoos figure, with its ambivalent implications. Apollonius seems to be drawing out what is implicit in the Odyssean portrayal of the Phaiakians, and this may be indebted in turn to earlier epic accounts of Jason's visit to Aietes (S. West 2003: 160–61). All of this reinforces my point that Aietes is a complex figure.

62. On the reworking in 3.876–86 of the simile in *Od.* 6.102–109, see Knight 1995: 236–37.

it (*Od.* 5.56–75). There are prominent verbal reminiscences.[63] From the perspective of this model, the garden suggests not a Nausikaa whom the hero can manipulate to gain his ends but a mature female eros, an ensnaring hospitality, and a strong female figure who can insist on the fulfillment of her desires. And so these contradictory models bring together the distinct potentialities in Medea.[64]

Our first impression of the house, then, is of the same combination of civilized refinement (by Greek standards) and formidable strangeness. Apollonius's description is distinct from his Homeric models in that it points toward relations between Greeks and others by reflecting the interplay between familiarity and difference in non-Greeks as the Greeks perceive them. The layout of the rest of the house, on the other hand, has implications for the dynamics of Aietes' family that bear directly on Medea's actions.

Probably opposite the entrance to the courtyard an imposing bronze door leads to the inner part of the house,[65] somewhere in which the *megaron* or hall is evidently located, or perhaps to the *megaron* itself. This is the public space of the house, where the male head of the household has dealings with outsiders: that is, where Aietes feasts and menaces the Argonauts while Medea sits as a silent observer, and where later he, with leading Colchians, plots treachery against Jason after the latter's successful exploit (4.6–10). The text is rather vague about the exact location of this room, but it gives a clearer idea of the family's private quarters, which face onto the courtyard. The inner walls of the courtyard along the sides and at the back are fronted by a roofed colonnade or *αἴθουσα*, and flanking the central doors, and probably also along the sides of the courtyard, are smaller double-leaved doors giving onto the colonnade and leading to *θάλαμοι* or bed-chambers. These belong to Medea, Khalkiope, and

63. The luxuriant grape vines (*ἠμερίδες*) of 3.220 recall the vine (*ἠμερίς*) of *Od.* 5.69. Kalypso's four springs run with water only, but Apollonius borrows the language that introduces them: *Od.* 5.70, *κρῆναι ἐξείης πίσυρες ῥέον*, reappears in 3.222, *ἀέναοι κρῆναι πίσυρες ῥέον*. See especially Campbell 1994: 200–201, who also points out that the grand procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus had a grotto with two springs, one of milk and the other of wine (Athen. 200c). For further associations of these springs, see Hunter 1989: 122–23. In the description of the garden there are also reminiscences of Kirke (*Odyssey* 10): see Knight 1995: 178–79.

64. The garden, where Medea first sets eyes on Jason, is also, in my view, where Eros wounds her with his arrow, so that it is the site of the fateful convergence of Greeks, Colchians, and divinity. The text is not very clear about the location, which hinges on the meaning of *πρόδομος* (3.278), where Eros strings his bow. If this is a vestibule within the house's outside gate (Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: II, 120, 121; Rougier-Blanc 2003: 96–100), or a columned porch in front of it, Eros then crosses the threshold into the garden and wounds Medea there, as I believe. If it is a part of the portico that lines the garden (Mooney 1912: 239; Gillies 1928: 135; Campbell 1994: 48–49), the threshold he crosses takes him into the *megaron* and he shoots his arrow there. The problem with this view is that preparations for the meal are still taking place and there has been no movement by the mortals into that room. When Eros leaves *ἐκ μεγάροιο* (3.285), I take the noun as synechdoche for "house" as it is just three lines later (though in the plural). I believe that *πρόδομος* at 3.648 has to be an enclosed space like a vestibule because it has a threshold leading to the courtyard.

65. On the meaning of *μέσσαυλος* at 3.235, which differs from Homeric usage, see Gillies 1927. The verb *ἐλήλατο*, "had been forged," implies that the door is bronze.

their maid-servants.[66] They have no communicating doors between them, and to get from one to the other it is necessary to go out into the courtyard. At right angles to each of the sides of the courtyard is a larger structure, called a δόμος, literally, a "house," probably a complex of rooms. In the taller of these Aietes lives with his wife Eiduia, the youngest daughter of Okeanos and Tethys and the mother of Medea and Khalkiope. Apsyrtos, the product of Aietes' earlier liaison with the mountain nymph Asterodeia, inhabits the lower one on the opposite side. The architecture of the house, therefore, reflects the age and gender hierarchies of the patriarchal nuclear family—hierarchies that would not be at all strange to a Greek visitor or reader. The father, whose authority is supreme, lives with his consort in the more imposing of two special buildings,[67] the son and presumptive heir has the other, and the daughters live in chambers that do not stand out from the line of the building that forms the perimeter of the courtyard.

Those hierarchies will be overthrown as a result of intrigues by Aietes' daughters that take form in their chambers. There the sisters will plot a δόλος, deception (3.720), against their father (but also, in a different way, against each other, 3.687) that is the female counterpart to his plotting of a δόλος in the assembly and the megaron (3.578, 4.7). A sign of the furtiveness that these strategems involve is that when Argos returns to the house as the intermediary between the Argonauts and his mother, who then will intercede in their behalf with Medea, he goes not to a masculine space in the house but to Khalkiope's chamber (3.609–11). After the banquet, Khalkiope goes to her chamber, and Medea to hers (3.448–51), which is the expression of her innocence and sense of modesty (αἰδώς). This room will be the scene of her debates between the demands of eros and loyalty to her family. She will try three times to leave her chamber and go to her sister in hopes that Khalkiope will beg her to help Jason for her sons' sake, and three times she will turn back into the room.[68] When Khalkiope instead enters Medea's room, the impasse is broken, and a threshold is crossed in more senses than one. Medea then leaves, first to meet Jason in

66. Campbell 1994: 223 is surely right to follow Vian in supplying θαλάμους from line 236 with τούς in line 247, rather than δόμους from 238 (so Gillies 1928: 136; Mooney 1912: 237), even though the latter would be more natural Greek. Awkward though it may seem, this arrangement has stylistic point. The description of Aietes' and Apsyrtos's quarters gains emphasis from the way it interrupts the flow of the description. It is, we might say, "transverse" to the run of the text just as those apartments are "transverse" (λέχρις, 238) to the line of the courtyard wall.

67. Note the phrasing of 3.240: κρείων Αἰήτης σὺν ἑῇ ναίεσκε δάμαρτι ("*the ruler* Aietes inhabited [one] with his wife"). Hunter 1989: 125 gives another reason for the disparity in size between the structures: "South-facing buildings would catch the sun if tall, north-facing ones avoid cold winds if low." This practical reason does not rule out the significance I suggest. After all, if the climate dictated the disparity, it still is hard to see the head of the family taking the lower building.

68. When Jason comes face to face with Medea in the courtyard, she is on her way from her own chamber to Khalkiope's (3.248–49). This detail establishes the normal free association between the sisters that is facilitated by the house-plan. It also sets a pattern of interrupted movement between the two chambers that is caused by the advent of Eros and his effects on Medea.

Hekate's temple, and then for good when she flees to the *Argo* to accompany him to Greece. On that second occasion, the room is a palpable sign of the girlhood she is abandoning, in sharp contrast to the temple, the other locus of her activity. She kisses the bed and the door posts, caresses the walls, and tears out a lock of her hair to leave for her mother as a memorial of her virginity (4.26–29). But then as she goes the doors fly open of their own accord at her incantation, and we are reminded of Medea the sorceress.

Medea's room or θάλαμος has a forerunner and a counterpart earlier in Book 3, the bed-chamber of Aphrodite, which the goddess shares with her husband Hephaistos and where Hera and Athena visit her to ask her to enlist Eros's help. These two chambers, in their interrelationship, link divine cause and human effect. Hera's and Athena's movement to Aphrodite's house starts a chain of events that will issue in Jason's success in getting the Golden Fleece, Medea's flight with him, and ultimately Pelias's punishment (3.61–65, 1134–36).[69] They also involve a contrast between the space of Aprodite's marital intimacy and mature female sexuality (and possibly also her adultery with Ares)[70] and the space that shelters Medea's virginity (and it is an interesting irony in this connection that Medea's wedding chamber will be, not a θάλαμος, but a cave on Phaiakia). And finally, the earlier scene establishes the θάλαμος as the setting for feminine intrigue. Seeing the *Argo* at rest in the marsh in Colchis, Athena and Hera go "apart from Zeus himself and the other gods" to a θάλαμος, where they take counsel (βουλεύον, 3.8–10). Then they go to Aphrodite's house and θάλαμος to ask her help, just as later Khalkiope will go from her own to Medea's chamber to get her sister's help.

The physical structure of Aietes' house and especially the domestic spaces it comprises are shaped by the relations between family members and in turn reinforce those relations. The men's and women's quarters are constructed along the lines of a gender and age hierarchy, and either they channel men's and women's movements in accordance with that hierarchy or, in the unusual situation created by the Argonauts' arrival, it is through some of them that the usual lines of authority are circumvented. In the latter case, the women's spaces are the locus of what the Greeks conventionally thought of as female erotic intrigue. Whereas the courtyard with its garden and the *megaron* are the points of contact between Greeks and Colchians and construct the latter

69. On the gods' intervention here, see especially Feeney 1991: 80–85. In addition, note an interesting contrast, which also seems to link this earlier scene with its effect on Medea. Aphrodite leaves her hair half-combed when her visitors arrive (3.43–50), whereas Medea, getting ready to meet Jason, carefully arranges her hair (3.829–30) in a passage that alludes to earlier epic scenes of divine preparation for seduction—Aphrodite's seduction of Ankhises (*h. Aphr.* 58–67) and Hera's of Zeus (*Il.* 14.166–86).

70. In view of the echoes of Book 8 of the *Odyssey* (see Hunter 1989: 102), the idea of adultery is not far below the surface in this scene with Aphrodite. She is still married to Hephaistos, but he is absent; it is in his pretended absence that Ares and Aphrodite take the opportunity to sleep together (*Od.* 8.282–91). The adultery has already been hinted at in the picture on Jason's robe that shows Aphrodite holding Ares' shield, which reflects her own image (1.742–46).

according to the categories of same and other that are characteristic of responses to foreign cultures in this poem, the domestic part of the house is where female members of the family interact among themselves, apart from the Greeks.

Movement and Place in Colchis

Whereas the narrative of the voyage to and from Colchis in Books 1, 2, and 4 is paratactic, in the sense that it tracks the *Argo* from place to place in a geographical progression, the events at Colchis are recounted in a manner that resembles the periodic or, in Aristotle's term, the "turned around" style (*λέξις κατεστραμμένη*), which he contrasted with parataxis (*λέξις εἰρομένη*).[71] Because the story is now set in one place rather than in a succession of places, and because it is "triangulated" among the Argonauts, Medea, and Aietes, Apollonius interweaves its various strands, bringing one part to a certain stage in its development and then suspending it while he follows another action to an appropriate point, and then taking up the first where he left it, and so on. Just as much as the parataxis in the rest of the poem, the narrative style here is intimately connected with space. Colchis is a place in relation to the other places the Argonauts visit, but it is also made up of individual places. Each person in the narrative acts in characteristic ways in particular places, and the places enable certain patterns of action. The characters also move between places and link them with each other as elements of their stories. In aggregate, the places connected in this way by each character form the system that is Colchian space and give it significance in the story as a non-Hellenic locus of contact between Colchians and Greeks. By attending to places, we can trace in an almost physical way the intersection of various trajectories at Colchis and how the conflicts it creates play out.

Here is a list of the various places in which principal episodes of the Colchian narrative are set. It is schematic and omits a large amount of material, but we will fill it out presently.

Book 3

Olympos (6–166)
River, *Argo*: Greek assembly (167–95)

71. Arist. *Rh.* 1409a. I have in mind here, and am greatly indebted to, Purves's discussion (2010: 27–28, 123–26) of the connection between these styles and different understandings of space, and of the implications of this relation to kinds of narrative, in selected texts from Homer through Xenophon. Purves sees an historical development; she coordinates the emergence of periodic style with the growth of an interest in maps and an attempt to view space synoptically. Apollonius is different, I think. He uses a periodic style of narrative to weave together various places into a Colchian space that is not described synoptically but as it is used and moved through. For an appreciation of the differences between the narratives in Books 1–2 and Book 3, see Hunter 1989: 24.

Aietes' house
a. public spaces: courtyard and *megaron* (215–447)
b. private space: Medea's chamber (451–71)

River, *Argo*: Greek assembly (489–571)
Town, assembly place: Colchian assembly (576–608)

Aietes' house

a. private space: Khalkiope's chamber (609–15)
b. private space: Medea's chamber (616–824)

Temple of Hekate

a. Medea and her maids (891–912)
b. Jason and Medea (967–1145)

River, *Argo*: brief evening scene (1163–72)

Deserted part of plain, away from paths: Jason's sacrifice to Hekate (1191–1211)
Aietes' house: Aietes' "arming scene" (1225–37)
River, *Argo*: Jason's "arming scene" as he puts on the drug (1246–67)
Plain of Ares: Jason's ordeal (1278–1407)

Book 4

Aietes' house

a. public space: Aietes in *megaron* (6–10)
b. private space: Medea's chamber (11–34)

Riverbank: Medea taken onto *Argo* (66–102)
Grove of Ares: capture of the Golden Fleece (123–66)
Riverbank: *Argo* at Kriou Eunai; fleece taken onto *Argo* (183–207)
Town, assembly place: Colchian assembly (212–36)

The narrative in Book 3 falls into three main sections divided by abrupt changes of scene with no transitions; the breaks between them are indicated by a horizontal line in the list above. In the first segment, Aietes' house is the point of convergence of four trajectories: those of Eros, the Argonauts, Aietes, and Medea. The first two scenes, on Olympos and at the *Argo*, set events in motion that will result in the arrivals of Jason and Eros at the house at nearly the same time and in the arousal of Medea's love, with which we first see her grappling in the brief scene in lines 451–71. The Greek and Colchian assemblies (lines 489–571, 576–608) are held in the aftermath of the banquet, which also takes place in the house. In the second section, Medea's chamber and the

temple of Hekate are the twin focal points; we have already discussed the significance of these two places as poles of Medea's actions. In regard to plot mechanics, Medea's wrestling with her feelings and her decision to help Jason (616–824) are what get her to the temple to meet Jason. The third section, Jason's ordeal and the preparations for it, alternates between Jason and Aietes, until finally the Colchians and the Argonauts converge on the riverbanks near the Plain of Ares, where Jason yokes the bulls and sows the dragon's teeth. Greeks and Colchians watch from opposite sides of the river. In the part of Book 4 devoted to the Colchian narrative (that is, up to the Argonauts' departure), scenes in town and at the riverbank alternate in an inversely symmetrical ring composition on either side of the retrieval of the Golden Fleece from the Grove of Ares.[72]

Aietes' activity takes place in public, masculine places: the *megaron* in his house, the assembly place, the north bank of the river. Medea sits silently during the feast in the *megaron* but otherwise is limited to her bed chamber and the temple, until she goes to the river to join Jason. Jason enters Aietes' house once but until his ordeal his actions center on the river and the *Argo*. He sends intermediaries to Aietes' house (Argos to Khalkiope and some companions to the king to fetch the dragon's teeth). The two exceptions are his meeting with Medea in the temple and his sacrifice to Hekate, which he carries out in an undefined place described as deserted and away from paths (3.1197, 1201–2)—that is, not a place at all in the sense of humanly produced space—in keeping with the nature of the ritual and of magic as beyond the usual resources of culture.

Thus the use of places reflects the way different courses of action occur independently and often at the same time but then intersect dramatically at the house (section 1), at the temple (section 2), and at the river bank (section 3 and the relevant part of Book 4). The patterns of use also keep the genders distinct; the exceptions are the temple outside the town, a fitting place for a meeting between Jason and Medea that, as she is fully aware, is improper by society's standards, and the river bank where she elopes with him. Places also distinguish Greek (*Argo*) and Colchian. And finally, places bear the stamp of social relations and help determine them: for example, *megaron* (masculine hospitality and conflict that is kept within bounds because of where it occurs), bed chambers (feminine plotting and deception, eros), *Argo* (Greek assembly with its cooperative deliberation in contrast to the Colchian assemblies, which are merely the setting for Aietes' threats—narrated both times in indirect statement—against the Argonauts and his own people).

72. Aietes' plotting in his megaron (4.6–10) corresponds to the final Colchian assembly, and in the two scenes on the riverbank Jason takes on board the *Argo* his two prizes, Medea and the fleece. The three major narrative segments in Book 3 are also symmetrically arranged. The first and third, which both primarily concern Jason's conflict with Aietes, flank the second, which is devoted to his relationship with Medea.

Place, however, is a pause in movement, as Tuan says (Chapter 1). Carefully choreographed movements of characters usually make transitions between scenes within each major narrative section. Most scenes are initiated by an arrival,[73] and almost all end, or are soon followed by, the departure of one or more characters for another place.[74] This technique recalls that of Greek tragedy.[75] It is not only a formal device, however. These movements link places in larger patterns of each character's spatial practices. We thus can see another convergence between narrative structure and the construction of space in this poem. In the list of scenes above, most of what was left out consisted of passages in which people move between places (along with a few summarily narrated scenes). Here is a diagram of the first two major sections, with those movements added:

Olympos (6–166)
Eros departs for earth (166)
    River, *Argo*: Greek Assembly (167–95)
    Jason and companions go to Aietes' house (196–214)
Aietes' house, public spaces (215–447)
        (Description of Aietes' house, 215–48)
    Jason and companions meet Medea in courtyard (interrupted movement, 248–53)
    Khalkiope and maids, then Aietes enter courtyard (253–70)
    Eros arrives, wounds Medea (in courtyard?) and leaves (275–86)
        (Effect of love on Medea, 286–98)
    Movement into *megaron* for banquet (around 301?)
        (Banquet, 301–438)
    Jason, Augeias, and Telamon exit megaron, followed by Argos, and then exit the house; Medea watches Jason as he leaves (439–48)
    Khalkiope exits *megaron* followed by Medea; each goes to her room (449–51)
Aietes' house, private space: Medea in her chamber (451–71)
Plain
    Jason and companions on way back from city to ship; Argos proposes getting help from Medea (472–88)

73. Exceptions: 3.167, 576, 616 (at the breaks between major narrative sections, where there are no transitions), 1225, 1246 (the two contrasting arming scenes); 4.11, 212 (in both places the effect is again a sharp contrast). The scene that begins at 3.616 is a continuation of the one that began in 451 with Medea's arrival in her chamber: the first word in 616, *κούρην*, "the girl," resumes the last word of 471, *κούρη* (Hunter 1989: 164). 4.6 is not an exception because Aietes returned home in the closing lines of Book 3 (1405–6), and only the invocation at the beginning of book 4 (1–5) separates his return from his plotting in the megaron.

74. The only exceptions are 3.471 (where the scene of Medea in her chamber is broken off while other, simultaneous events are occurring, to be resumed at 3.616), 608, 1224; 4.10.

75. Cf. Taplin 1977.

River
  Arrival at ship; assembly; Argos sent back to Aietes' house (489–572)
  Argo moved out of swamp to the main channel of the river (572–75)
Town, assembly place: Colchian Assembly (576–608)

Aietes' house:
  a. private space: Khalkiope's chamber (609–15)
     Argos arrives
  b. private space: Medea's chamber (616–824)
     Medea tries three times to exit and go to Khalkiope's room: arrested movement (645–55)
     A slave woman sees her prostrate with grief and goes to inform Khalkiope (664–67)
     Khalkiope goes to Medea's chamber (670–71)
     Khalkiope exits, returns to her own room (740–41)
     During the night Medea frequently opens the door, impatient for dawn, but does not exit: arrested movement (822–23)
  c. private space: Khalkiope's chamber (825–27)
     Argos exits and returns to ship
  d. private and public spaces: Medea's chamber and rest of house; Medea prepares to go to Hekate's temple (828–70)
     Medea exits the house (869–70).
City: Medea on her way to temple (871–86)
Temple of Hekate
  Medea arrives (888–90)
  Jason on the way from ship to temple (913–47)
  Jason arrives (956–61); he and Medea go apart from her maids
  Jason and Medea leave temple
    Jason departs for ship (1147–48)
    Medea returns to city, house, and chamber (1149–62)
River, *Argo*: brief evening scene (1163–72)
  Jason on the way and then his arrival (1163–67)

We could extend this diagram to include the entire Colchian narrative, but this partial schema is enough to show how the whole narrative is a complex structure of interlocking scenes that for the most part begin and end with motion. At the conclusion of the opening scene, for example, Eros departs from Mount Olympos. While he is in movement, the focus shifts to what the Argonauts have been doing, presumably while Athena and Hera paid their visit to Aphrodite and she set Eros in motion. There is also a vast change from the divine to the human spatial perspective, from his synoptic view of the earth before he plunges toward it, to one point within that space so abstractly mapped

out, the marsh in Colchis beside the Phasis River where the *Argo* lies hidden. Then, with Jason's arrival at Aietes' house, his entry into the courtyard, and his meeting with Medea, her sister, and her father, the mortal characters are in position for Eros's arrival in parallel with Jason's. This is the end and climax of the first narrative trajectory. But Jason's arrival initiates another phase, the banquet, which is ended by his corresponding exit from the *megaron* and from the house. This new stage in the narrative is completed by his arrival at the ship, but during the intervening trip Argos's suggestion that Medea's help be sought through his mother starts another phase, which ends with his entrance into Khalkiope's chamber.

All these complicated movements bring the various places in Colchis into relation with one another. Eros's passage from Olympos to Colchis contrasts immortal and human worlds and yet connects the actions in them in a causal relation. The other main axes of movement align places within Colchis with each other and characterize them in ways described above: the *Argo* with Aietes' house, the house, and within it Medea's chamber, with Hekate's temple, the house with the river bank and the Plain of Ares beyond it, and the plains on opposite sides of the river with each other. What happens during these movements, in the transitional time between places, can also be important—for example, the introduction to Colchian culture through its burial customs, or Argos's suggestion to Jason, which will have such far-reaching and ambivalent consequences. The most fully realized scene of motion is Medea's progress to the temple of Hekate (3.872–86). As she makes the transition between her bedchamber, the spatial embodiment of her identity as a well-born, unmarried girl, and the temple, the physical expression of her connection to divinity and her uncanny powers, the allusions to Nausikaa evoke, on this journey ultimately set in motion by Eros, notions of feminine shame (*αἰδώς*). But as she goes, the townspeople give way, "avoiding the eyes of the royal daughter" (*ἀλευόμενοι βασιληίδος ὄμματα κούρης*, 3.886). We will later learn of the light that flashes from the eyes of Helios's descendants and of the malignant power of Medea's gaze.[76] The public display of Medea's exit from the city contrasts with the furtiveness of her second and final departure from the city to abscond with Jason.[77] She goes not by a public wagon road but by a hidden path (*ἀίδηλον . . . στίβον*, 4.47) and with her face muffled. When Aietes rides out in splendor toward the river bank, perhaps along the same road,[78] his procession differs from hers along the lines of gender. His chariot contrasts with her mule cart; he is compared to Poseidon and she to Artemis; and his helmet gleams

76. 4.727–29, 1669–72; cf. 4.145. See Gillies 1928: 93; Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: II, 138; Hunter 1989: 196; Buxton 2000. Contrast Fränkel 1968: 397, who will have nothing of any hint of magic here and prefers instead to see in the townspeople's awe a tribute to the power of royalty.

77. Hunter 1987: 136. DeForest 1994: 123–24 suggests that the road and path represent different possibilities for Medea: to be a Homeric or a Callimachean heroine.

78. Hunter 1989: 234.

whereas her eyes do, though both are signs of their descent from Helios. With the chthonic associations of Medea's destination, Hekate's temple, and Aietes' visual association with the sun, the two of them transpose the complementary relation in Colchian religion and burial customs between earth (female) and sky (male) that marks the plain across which both travel from the city.

Through the significance conferred on places by the actions occurring within them and by movement into and out of them, as well as through other means explored in this chapter, Colchis is constructed as a space that is at once familiar and alien, civilized and other-worldly, as distant from Greece as it is possible to be and yet like it in the situation Jason finds there. Although there is a clear recognition that Colchis has a distinct culture, it is portrayed very much from a Greek perspective, and the interplay of familiarity and difference in that portrayal seems a response to cultural contact that may reflect the situation of Greeks in Egypt, the supposed place of the Colchians' origin. Some of the disorienting effect of being in an alien space may also be inferred from the sense of danger to the Greeks in Colchis, of being in contact with forces mightier than they in a place over which they have no control and with which they cannot come to terms by means of the conventional ways of their culture (hospitality, heroic force, even Odyssean cunning, which has to be supplied by Medea). In keeping with the character of this space, Jason must overcome its dangers through magic and the help of a "barbarian" princess who seems also like a Greek girl. The *Argo*, a wandering fragment of Greek space, has only a marginal relation to this other space. But for the most part it is stationary, a friendly base for the Greek strangers, moored in the river that has brought them inland to this menacing place and that seems as well like a lifeline to the Black Sea. The sea, so stormy and unpredictable on the outward voyage, appears at the beginning of Book 4 as a refuge, a way back to Greece and safety. That promise will be fulfilled only after a fashion, and only after further wandering and trials.

6

Rivers, Shores, Margins, and Boundaries

After the Argonauts descend the Phasis River and set sail once more on the open sea, they make one stop on the coast, where they sacrifice to Hekate. They then sail to the western end of the Black Sea and again enter a river, the Istros (modern Danube), preceded by the Colchian ships that are pursuing them. These seagoing ships navigating inland up the river amaze and frighten the inhabitants along its banks, who mistake them for marine monsters that have come up out of the sea (4.316–18). This image of ships surrounded not by sea but by earth, proceeding along freshwater channels in such a way that they might seem from a distance to be moving across the land, encapsulates some prominent spatial themes of the *Argonautika*: the distinction between earth and water, and also its transgression; the relation of coasts to inland areas; and the shore as a margin that both divides and connects land and sea and as a place of directional clarity. Rivers play a major role in the poem's exploration of these topics. Bodies of water that move through the land, constrained by their banks as opposed to the sea's flat expanse, freshwater rather than salt, they are neither land nor sea but partake of the properties of both.[1] They offer a means of communication between the sea, with its shore, and the interior, and at the same time they represent the joining of those distinct elements, earth and water.

1. On the contrast between salt and fresh water in the *Iliad*, with the Akhaians and the Trojans identified with each respectively, see Fenno 2005.

The shore, where land and sea meet, is an important boundary in the poem. Crossing this limit, either by setting sail or by landing, is always a significant act, as when the Argonauts launch their ship and then set out from Pagasae or when they disembark upon their return in the last line of the poem. Between these points their voyage involves a constant alternation of putting to shore and setting off again. Across this boundary, the land and its features can be seen from a ship at sea; descriptions of the Black Sea coast in the first two books often come to us through the perspective of the Argonauts as they view it from their rowing benches. Lykos announces his intention of building a shrine of the Dioskouroi high atop Cape Acherousia so that "all sailors will see it from far off on the sea and honor it" (2.807–8). The Dioskouroi are, or soon will become, the saviors of ships. Their shrine represents the stability of land to sailors in their fragile wooden vessels at the mercy of an alien element. In the form of St. Elmo's fire, they will come to the aid of ships in danger. At the same time, Lykos will dedicate to them a plot of rich plow land in front of the city (2.809–10). The Dioskouroi range over both land and sea, and easily cross the boundary between them.[2]

Attending to rivers, shore, land, and sea and their interrelations will help us explore both the order and clarity of the construction of space in the *Argonautika* and—just as significantly—its limits. These topics will give us an example of the interest that the poem shows in boundaries of various kinds and their porousness.

Rivers and Other Fresh Water

Along one axis perpendicular to the shoreline, rivers both link and separate the coast and inland regions, as we have already seen in the case of the Phasis (chap. 5), and by doing so they raise the issue of the relation between earth and water.[3] We will return to this aspect of their significance later, in connection with the *Argo* navigating them. First, let us consider them as they are viewed along an axis parallel with the coast, especially as they, or their mouths, are seen from a passing ship. Sometimes they form part of the territory of a given people, and in that case they can be identified with those who dwell along their course. Often, however, they serve as boundaries between peoples. That is, they are natural features of the landscape invested with political and cultural

2. Cf. Alcaeus fr. 34a Lobel-Page, where they are invoked as *οἳ κατ' εὔρηαν χθόνα καὶ θάλασσαν / παῖσαν ἔρχεσθ' ὠκυπόδων ἐπ' ἴππων* ("you who go upon your swift-footed horses over the broad earth and the whole sea"). For an example of gazes exchanged from ship to shore and from land to sea across the boundary of the shoreline, consider the Argonauts viewing Sthenelos's tomb while his shade momentarily enjoys the sight of his fellow Greeks (2.911–22). The passage emphasizes seeing (*ἔδρακον*, *ἰδέσθαι*, *σκοπιάζετο*, *ἐσιδόντες*, with, in addition, the strongly visual *ἀπελάμπετο*).

3. I owe a general debt in this section to Robert Groves, whose paper on rivers and springs in the *Argonautika* for my seminar at UCLA on the poem in 2006 made me more attentive than I had been to their importance.

significance. They define a region as belonging to and characteristic of a people, and conquest of one people by another can take place across one river and as far as the next one (e.g., 2.786–95).[4] Rivers thus articulate space (and, of course, Apollonius's narrative) and are part of its cultural production.[5] For example, consider a passage in which the Argonauts row along an extensive stretch of coastline without stopping, and the text gives us an ordered list of the territories they pass, in which rivers are prominently mentioned. This account is worth quoting in full because it is apt to be seen as a perfunctory catalogue that the narrator and readers need to gallop through in order to get to the next full-scale incident, one of those passages that some would say make the narrative of the Argonauts' voyage merely a succession of places.[6] I would argue instead that such passages are an integral part of the texture of the poem when it is seen as a construction of space.

Having just emerged from the Bosporos into the Black Sea, the Argonauts row for a day and a night until they reach the island of Thynias, in accordance with Phineus's advice to beware the shoals along the coast of Bithynia (2.345–50).[7] But the space they pass is not felt on that account to be empty. This is what they see (2.649–68):

Αἶψα δὲ τοί γε
Ῥήβαν ὠκυρόην ποταμὸν σκόπελόν τε Κολώνης,
Ἄκρην δ' οὐ μετὰ δηθὰ παρεξενέοντο Μέλαιναν,
Τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ προχοὰς Φυλληίδας, ἔνθα πάροιθεν
Διψακὸς υἱ' Ἀθάμαντος ἑοῖς ὑπέδεκτο δόμοισιν,
ὁππόθ' ἅμα κριῷ φεῦγεν πόλιν Ὀρχομενοῖο.
Τίκτε δέ μιν Νύμφη λειμωνιάς· οὐδέ οἱ ὕβρις
ἤνδανεν, ἀλλ' ἐθελημὸς ἐφ' ὕδασι πατρὸς ἑοῖο
μητέρι συνναίεσκεν ἐπάκτια πώεα φέρβων.
Τοῦ μέν θ' ἱερὸν αἶψα καὶ εὐρείας ποταμοῖο

4. For an overview of rivers as depicted in the poem, with more aspects treated than I do here, see Williams 1991: 109–18. It may be true that in practice rivers do not make very effective boundaries, especially militarily, because they serve as a means of communication as well as division. But as Braund argues (1996), in Greek and Roman thought, especially in religion, they represented very important boundaries, and it is Apollonius's participation in this complex of ideas concerning the role of rivers and other bodies of fresh water that concerns me here.

5. Writing of Roman poetry, Jones makes a similar point, though without quite focusing on the production of space: "Catalogues of rivers . . . lend structure both to narratives and to the imagined maps their names occasion. Whether the point of the map is to give the world a particular organization or no order at all, river catalogues prompt readers to envision the world with attention called to particular locations in a specific order. Much like the words of a narrative, a catalogue of rivers guides an audience toward the author's conception of story or world" (2005: 91).

6. Or such passages can make it seem as though "in the *Argonautica* space is seen as a material, objective container for human action. Apollonios's space is made to be traversed, gazed [at], and/or possessed; it is alienated from human action and experience and becomes just setting, scenario" (Rubio 1992: 84–85). Although I find the links he makes to Hellenistic scientific thought and Greek ambitions for political domination intriguing, I disagree with him on this fundamental point.

7. Delage 1930: 136; Fränkel 1968: 221. For the geography here, see Delage's discussion on pp. 136–40.

ἠιόνας πεδίον τε βαθυρρείοντά τε Κάλπην
δερκόμενοι παράμειβον. Ὁμῶς δ' ἐπὶ ἦματι νύκτα
νήνεμον ἀκαμάτῃσιν ἐπερρώοντ' ἐλάτῃσιν.
Οἷοι δὲ πλαδόωσαν ἐπισχίζοντες ἄρουραν
ἐργατίναι μογέουσι βόες, πέρι δ' ἄσπετος ἱδρὼς
εἴβεται ἐκ λαγόνων τε καὶ αὐχένος, ὄμματα δέ σφι
λοξὰ παραστρωφῶνται ὑπὸ ζυγοῦ, αὐτὰρ ἀυτμὴ
αὐαλέη στομάτων ἄμοτον βρέμει, οἱ δ' ἐνὶ γαίῃ
χηλὰς σκηρίπτοντε πανημέριοι πονέονται·
τοῖς ἴκελοι ἥρωες ὑπὲξ ἁλὸς εἶλκον ἐρετμά.

Right away they
sailed past the swift-flowing river Rhebas and the promontory of Kolone
and a short time later they passed the Black Cape,
and after that the mouth of the Phyllis River, where in the past
Dipsakos received Athamas's son [Phrixos] in his house,
when he was fleeing the city of Orchomenos with the ram.
A meadow nymph bore Dipsakos, and he took no part in violence,
but in peace he dwelt with his mother beside
his father's waters, pasturing his flocks along the shore.
Soon as they passed they saw the shrine of Dipsakos
and the river's broad banks and the plain and the deep-flowing Kalpes.
Through the windless night that followed that day they labored at the
tireless oars.
Like farm cattle that toil, cleaving the moist plowland, while sweat
pours profusely down from their flanks and neck, and their eyes
roll sideways from beneath the yoke, and their parched
breath roars unceasingly from their mouths as stamping
their hooves on the earth they labor all day long,
like them the heroes kept drawing their oars up out of the sea.

The first three lines give a list consisting of a river and two other natural landmarks that the Argonauts "passed"; the verb implies that they came into no particular relation to them. But these features of the landscape have names. Apollonius does not tell us how they got these names, or why. Does the promontory of Kolone have the shape of a steep hill or mountain peak? Did Cape Melaina look black (*melaina*) in the distance to sailors who passed on a hazy afternoon? Is there a story behind the name of the Rhebas River? In any case, the names by themselves make these natural features cultural by virtue of implying human interpretation of the landscape. And in their succession they, with their names, give structure to the landscape in a humanly intelligible way so that those sailing by them who are in one way or another familiar with the geography of the area can orient themselves and know where they

are. Apollonius's readers might have had such knowledge from whatever sources Apollonius used or from first-hand experience. As for the Argonauts, two of these features have been mentioned to them by Phineus (2.349–50), so that they know that when they have come to a river mouth and then a dark-looking cape along the Bithynian coast they will soon come to the island of Thynias, where they can land after their long spell of rowing.[8] The river Rhebas, in addition, with the Kolone headland, served as a significant boundary in the past, for Herakles conquered territory for the Mariandynoi westward as far as that point, and at least for some time it marked the boundary between them and the Bebrukes (2.788–89). Thus these landmarks, through their interrelations and their names, represent a human interpretation and ordering of space.

The Argonauts pass a fourth feature as well, which was not mentioned by Phineus and which forms a complex of further landmarks: the river Phyllis with a shrine at its mouth, a plain, and the mouth of the river Kalpes. These are presented differently from the previous features: the text emphasizes the Argonauts' seeing them as they pass, so that space appears not as something removed and autonomous but in relation to viewers and their subjectivity, although this relation remains more distanced than it would be if they landed. And in fact this area holds a certain interest for the Argonauts. In addition to natural features it contains a built structure, a shrine that commemorates a person by evoking his story; that is, it has an *aition* that gives this place a cultural identity through human labor (building) and narrative. That narrative concerns the gentle ways of Dipsakos, who, as one instance of what, to judge from his name ("Thirst-Healer"), was his usual practice, gave hospitality to Phrixos. Important values of human community thus inform this landscape. The Phyllis River, then, has a human meaning as a place of refuge, hospitality, and civility, partly because of its association with a part of Greek heroic tradition through Phrixos, but not only for this reason: Dipsakos was the river god's son by a meadow nymph. There is nothing unusual in Greek myth about a personified river begetting a son by a mortal woman or a nymph. Such stories, however, have the result of humanizing a natural feature, and Dipsakos's parentage has the same effect here. On the one hand, he had close ties with the natural world and lived an idyllic life in harmony with the land. Reciprocally, the personifications of meadow and river implied in his genealogy appropriate natural features to human culture. The combination of land and water represented by Dipsakos through his parents also fits into the poem's interest in the relations between these elements, and so it is significant that his shrine sits on the riverbank, the margin between them. The relation between land and sea is also implicit in the extended simile that ends the passage, in which the Argonauts' toil at rowing is compared to that of cattle pulling a plow. This "reverse

8. This point suggests an additional function of the much-criticized long speech of Phineus besides its use in providing a contrast with the Argonauts' actual experience of the space of which it gives a distant overview (Chap. 1).

simile" at once relies on the distinction between the two elements—each has its characteristic form of hard labor—and overcomes it, since a simile requires points of contact between the two things being compared.

This passage leads up to the episode on the island of Thynias, with Apollo's epiphany and the consequent *aitia*. That interlude is followed by another summary description of places passed (2.720–28) that prepares for the Argonauts' stay at Cape Acherousia, and once again rivers figure prominently as articulators of space: the Sangarios, the usual boundary between the Bebrukes and the Mariandynoi,[9] and the Lykos, together with the lake Anthemoeisis. Lykos, the king of the Mariandynoi who will give the Argonauts hospitality, is descended from the latter two; his father was Daskylos (2.776), son of Tantalos, and his mother was Anthemoesia, the eponym of the lake and daughter of the river Lykos.[10] The king Lykos thus, like Dipsakos, represents the acculturation of space through descent from its personified features. Once again the text puts the Argonauts into a relation with this space, and its description comes to us through their observation: "they saw as they passed" (δερκόμενοι παράμειβον, 2.725)—the same phrase, and in the same metrical position, as in 2.660, which occurs nowhere else in the poem.

Even in passages, then, that might seem mere filler between important episodes but that actually show essential elements of the cultural appropriation of space, rivers play a prominent role in humans' ordering of the landscape in intelligible ways. It is only natural, perhaps inevitable, that they do so, and their role could be taken for granted. But to appreciate the importance of rivers in the *Argonautika* and to understand how the construction of space in this poem is cultural and not self-evident, consider another natural feature that is at least as prominent as rivers in the Mediterranean landscape and that was important in Greek thought and religion: mountains.[11] There are some important mountains in this poem: Pelion and Dindymon, and the Caucasus range, which are used in the construction of space in their respective places. Other than these, however, mountains rarely function in the poem as important landmarks or form part of a spatial system—far less often than one would expect.[12] It is rivers that are used systematically in these respects and that play a far more important part in the spatial dynamics in this poem.

A further dimension of the acculturation of space involving rivers is the identification that can sometimes occur between a river and the people who live along it. A good example is the Thermodon and its relation, in Apollonius's

9. After Herakles' conquests, the Bebrykes pushed back the boundary from where he had set it (the Rhebas river, west of the Sangarios) to the Hypios (2.795), the location of which Apollonius does not specify but which clearly is east of the Sangarios (Delage 1930: 141–42).

10. See Schol. on 2.724. This information was given by Herodorus and Nymphis, important sources for Apollonius concerning the history of this region (Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: I, 158–60).

11. On the importance of mountains in Greek culture, see Buxton 1994: 81–96.

12. The exceptions are few and mostly minor, except for the three mountains named in the text. See 1.1178; 2.976, 1015–16; 3.162, 1085; 4.287, 300, 323–24, 576, 1215.

description, to the Amazons, who live near Cape Themiskyra where the river discharges into the Black Sea and on the plain through which it flows from its source in the Amazonian Mountains (2.964–84).[13] In the account of the Argonauts' brief stay on the Amazons' shore because of contrary winds, there are two main elements: a short "ethnography" of the Amazons (2.985–1000), which emphasizes their violence, lawlessness, and lack of cities and political unity; and, preceding that, an account of the Thermodon's uniqueness in that it has more channels than any other river. Its strangeness seems to mirror theirs, so that the land and its inhabitants have the same character. In its determination to reach the sea despite the obstacles presented by the plain in the form of rising ground, it flows in winding paths in every direction (*ἄλλυδις ἄλλη*) as it twists across the land always seeking depressions in the ground, dividing into ninety-six channels (2.979–82).[14] This is a disorderly river (contrast what seems the well-defined course of the Phyllis River, 2.658–60); it is in conflict, moreover, with the land, which seems to block it—in contrast to the harmony reflected elsewhere in the begetting of sons by rivers and meadow nymphs. In a parallel way, the Amazons represent disorder by Greek standards. In this poetic account, therefore, their wildness is projected onto their land, and reciprocally this land with its most prominent feature, the Thermodon, seems a fitting place for them to dwell.[15] That rivers in "barbarian" lands share the savagery of the inhabitants, in contrast to civilized Greek rivers, was an idea familiar to Pausanias, who remarks (4.34.2), "Greek rivers do not as a rule [or it is not in their nature to, *οὐ πεφύκασιν*] bear animals threatening to humans, as the Indos does and the Egyptian Nile, and also the Rhine and Istros and Euphrates and Phasis. For these nurture man-eating beasts of extraordinary ferocity."[16]

We have already seen how, in Apollonius, one of those "barbarian" rivers, the Phasis, plays a literally central role in characterizing Aietes and Medea—or more precisely, in creating the space that enables them to engage in their

13. This passage is discussed also by Williams 1991: 118–22 and Cusset 1998: 110–11, with somewhat different emphases.

14. The interpretation of these lines is not entirely certain. Fränkel (1968: 252–61) gives an elegant interpretation of the ninety-six channels as referring to a delta very schematically conceived; if that were true, readers might make a suggestive connection with the delta of the Nile. It is perhaps not a fatal objection that the Thermodon has no delta, even though Strabo mentions alluvial silt (1.3.7). This poem is a work of the imagination, not of geography, and in fact Strabo's description of the Thermodon (12.3.15) flatly contradicts Apollonius's. But I think that lines 976–82 are against Fränkel's interpretation; they seem to describe the river's course across the plain, not its discharge into the sea, which is described in lines 982–84. I take those lines to mean that it is uncertain where many channels empty into the sea (with *νώνυμοι* introducing an indirect question: Fränkel 1968: 254), not that some channels dry up in the ground before getting there (so LSJ s.v. *ὑπεξαφύομαι*).

15. Cf. Cusset 1998: 111. The Black Sea seems to take on something of the same character in this passage. It is called *ποντον Ἄξεινον* at 2.984; whatever the origin and etymology of this name (see Allen 1947), the Greeks clearly thought its meaning to be "inhospitable." The Black Sea is given this name only one other time in the poem: at 2.548, when the Argonauts are about to make their dangerous passage through the Bosporos. On the tendency in Greek and Roman thought to identify rivers and their human neighbors on the basis of supposedly shared characteristics, see Jones 2005: 37–47.

16. Paus. 4.34.2, cited by Braund 1996: 45.

characteristic activities. It divides the civilized plain and city to the north from the wild Plain of Ares to the south, but it also connects them as representing, from a Greek viewpoint, aspects of a single "barbarian" personality. The Phasis is, accordingly, closely identified with the land of Colchis. When Phineus predicts the Argonauts' arrival in Colchis, he tells them that they will come to the sea's most remote part, at the mouth of the broad stream of the Phasis, which flows from the Caucasus Mountains through the Colchian plain (2.397–401). The river is a part of this distant strangeness. Similarly, the narrative of their arrival does not name Colchis as their destination but describes it as "the broad-flowing Phasis and the farthest boundary of the Pontos" (2.1261). When the helmsman Ankaios does mention Colchis by name, he couples it with the Phasis (2.1277–78). And when Jason attempts to overcome the strangeness of this place by praying to Earth, the native gods, and the shades of the dead heroes to receive the Argonauts auspiciously and aid them in their mission, he pours a libation into the river (2.1271–75).

Marshes, swamps, and particularly water meadows (*εἰαμεναί*) connected with rivers play an ambivalent role in the poem's representation of space, as befits their combining of earth and water. Jason engages in his nocturnal rite to Hekate in a water meadow bare of trees (3.1202),[17] and at the goddess's arrival "the river nymphs who haunt the marshes [*νύμφαι ἑλειονόμοι ποταμηίδες*], who were dancing around that water-meadow (*εἰαμενή*) of the Amarantian Phasis" shrieked out a ritual cry (3.1218–20).[18] This in-between place is of a piece with the nature of Hekate and the role of magic in this poem, discussed in chapter 5 in connection with the shrine that the Argonauts build to her. Such spaces can be dangerous; the boar that fatally gores Idmon lurks in a water-meadow (*εἰαμενή*) beside the river that will be called "Savior of Sailors" (2.818).[19]

Lakes (*λίμναι*) and springs (*κρῆναι*) also can be either beneficent or dangerous. Both are often associated with rivers, but unlike rivers most (there are exceptions) offer no outlet to the sea but are landlocked and inland. They do not represent a confusion of earth and water, but they are bodies of water that belong on land. On the one hand, springs can have a positive value, such as

17. For this meaning of *καθαρός* rather than "pure," see Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: I, 101n3. The word adjacent to it, *ὑπεύδιος*, makes this sense likely.

18. In fact, the plain of Colchis is wetland (Braund 1994: 47–57). Whether or not Apollonius was aware of this—and he surely can have been, from written sources or oral report—my emphasis here is on how marshes fit into the *Argonautika*'s conception of space.

19. In the other examples of marshes and water meadows, there may well be a suggestion of similar ambivalence, although it is not as pronounced. At 4.976 the Argonauts see the Cattle of the Sun grazing in a swampy meadow (*ἕλος λειμώνιον*). The place is perhaps fitting in view of the dangerous temptation they will pose to Odysseus's men and would perhaps present to the Argonauts if they landed on the island. The Bebrykes won back the territory Herakles conquered for the Mariandynoi up to the water meadows (*εἰαμεναῖς*) of the river Hypios (2.795). This detail may be consistent with their negative portrayal whenever they are mentioned. The remaining instance of *εἰαμενή* (4.316) will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Artakie in Kyzikos (1.955–60), which is associated with future Greek colonization through the dedication of the *Argo*'s anchor stone, and the four springs made by Hephaistos in Aietes' garden (3.221–27). On the other hand, these bodies of water can be associated with death, such as the lake next to and communicating with the Eridanos River, with its stench from Phaethon's corpse and the drops of amber that are his sisters' solidified tears (4.596–611), or the spring called after Kleite, wife of Kyzikos. This last is balanced by the spring later named after Jason, which the Great Mother causes to gush forth on the summit of Mount Dindymon.[20] They can also be connected with monsters; Typhaon lies submerged in the waters of Lake Serbonis (2.1214–15), and the serpent killed by Kadmos guarded the spring of Ares on the site of Thebes. Finally, inland waters can be places of loss and confusion for humans. The obvious example is the spring whose nymph claims Hylas (1.1207–39), but there is also the Celtic Lake where the Argonauts almost lose their way and end up in Ocean but are saved by Hera's intervention (4.634–44). That lake has several outlets via rivers, of which the Argonauts almost make the wrong choice. Lake Tritonis in the territory of Libya has a single outlet to the sea, which they can find only with the god Triton's help. As we saw in chapter 4, the lake is a place of spatial confusion and category blurring, whereas the sea shore represents spatial clarity; they need to find a *poros* from the one to the other (4.1538–39).

Even at the risk of seeming to digress, islands should be mentioned here, for they are the inverse of lakes. Whereas lakes are bodies of water sunk into and surrounded by land, islands are bits of land protruding from and surrounded by water. In the *Argonautika*, islands can, like lakes and springs, be places of danger—the Sirens' island, for example. Most often, however, the conjunction of land and sea that they represent makes them special places, in several senses. They can be settings of stories about gods, such as Philyra's island, where the eponymous nymph bore Kheiron to Kronos (2.1231–41); the island, with its juxtaposition of elements, is a fitting place for the Centaur, with his hybrid nature, to be born. They can be sacred places, where humans come into contact with divinity through ritual (Samothrace, 1.915–21), through instituting cult (Mount Dindymon, referred to as an island, 1.936–39), or through epiphany (Thynias, 2.679–84). Or they can be places where the Argonauts' story reaches major turning points. On Ares' island they gain the sons of

20. Depew 2007: 145–47. In her paper, Depew suggestively connects nymphs, springs, and rivers in Apollonius and Callimachus with Hellenistic ideas of poetry and poetic inspiration, and further with their poetry's function, as she sees it, of legitimating Ptolemaic rule by providing it with a link to Greek tradition in the decentered circumstances of Greeks in Egypt. Making these associations with rivers and springs in the *Argonautika* seems to involve reading Apollonius through Callimachus (especially, of course, the ending of the latter's hymn to Apollo). This seems to me a legitimate approach, but I have concentrated here on how rivers, springs, and lakes function as places within the poem. Like her, I consider the Greeks' sense of dislocation in Egypt important to spatiality in the poem; see chap. 8.

Phrixos as allies (2.382–91). On one of the Adriatic islands sacred to Artemis Jason and Medea kill Apsyrtos, and that deed necessitates the *Argo*'s detour into the western Mediterranean. The dispute between the Colchians and the Argonauts is finally settled, and Jason marries Medea, on the island of Drepane. Thera will be pivotal in the founding of Cyrene, and Anaphe is associated with Thera as the site of a critical moment in the Argonautic story. Lemnos is an island where gender categories are confused, although the Argonauts re-establish them; it also represents a turning point of sorts, because here the ancestors of the colonists of Thera and then of Cyrene are begotten. Islands in the poem are thus prominent spatially both as land amid water and because of the stories about the Argonauts' voyage that they signify.[21]

That Apollonius portrayed rivers, springs, and lakes as he did is not surprising. There is little in his treatment of them that was not part of traditional belief about them in Greek and also in Roman culture.[22] Rivers were thought of as important boundaries, which had to be crossed with care, and were associated with major transitions—between stages of life, for example, or between life and death (the river Styx). Their gods, associated with bulls and portrayed as bulls with human faces or as anthropomorphic with the addition of horns, embodied their power and could father children with nymphs or mortal women. In their hybrid appearance, as well as in their ability to change shape,[23] they also represented the fluidity of water. In this way, and in their conceptual elusiveness (were they the actual rivers, or just personifications?), they stood for the blurring of categorical distinctions even as they served as boundaries. Spatially, therefore, rivers both linked and divided regions and peoples. Whole areas and their inhabitants could be identified with their rivers, so that these natural features were culturally produced. In practice, rivers served as a means of communication between coast and inland, but conceptually they helped to maintain the distinction between them. Springs (and other natural features) were inhabited by nymphs, who could be dangerous to mortals, especially males;[24] hence their ambivalence in the *Argonautika*, which is reflected in the paradox of water in the midst of land. Apollonius portrayed these bodies of water within the context of these long-standing beliefs.

21. Not all islands are marked out in the text in this way, of course. Some, like the island in front of the mouths of the Istros river (4.309–13), are simply facts of topography. Others are given significance through *aitia* (for instance Aithalie) or in other ways (some islands in the Adriatic: see Chapter 7), but nothing seems to distinguish them *as islands*. But a number of islands are given particular attention as special in ways that places on the mainland are not, and my argument is that their position as land surrounded by water sets them apart for this role. On the island as a "potent signifier" in Egyptian myth, as reflected in Anaphe and Thera in the *Argonautika*, see Stephens 2008: 107; 2003: 209, 233–35.

22. On the Greco-Roman conceptions of rivers, see Braund 1996; Ostrowski 1991: 10–25; Jones 2005: 3–47, to all of which the statements that follow are indebted. On springs and rivers in Greek life, cult, and myth, see Buxton 1994: 109–13; 2004: 188–91.

23. E.g., the shape shifting of Akheloos when Herakles fights with him (Soph. *Trach.* 9–14)—a trait that river gods share with sea divinities such as Proteus and Thetis.

24. See Larson 2001: 61–90.

So why is his treatment of them worth discussing? My answer is that he integrates them into his narrative's structure of spatial representations, which are prominently concerned with questions of boundaries of all kinds. Physically and conceptually they embody those questions and are, in fact, an especially powerful way of raising them. Literary texts can often defamiliarize what is usually taken for granted and make it the object of conscious scrutiny. By explicitly pointing to the paradox of seagoing ships sailing up a river in the passage with which we began this chapter (and to which we shall now return), this text forces the whole subject of inland waters, land and sea, coast and interior, on our attention.

Navigating Rivers

The Argonauts twice use rivers to traverse the interior of the European land mass, first from the Black to the Adriatic Sea, and then from the Adriatic to the "Sardinian" Sea (4.633) via the Eridanos and Rhodanos (Rhone) rivers, which for the purposes of the narrative are depicted as interconnected.[25] Very little actually occurs during these river-journeys except that the Argonauts get where they need to go. That fact in itself and the few events along the way are highly significant as showing the limits of the poem's construction of space. Here the text implicitly acknowledges that there are areas of the world that—partially or completely—fall outside any Greek construction of space.

The first and only occurrence we are told of on the Istros River[26] is the shepherds' terror at the sight of ships (4.316–22):

> . . .εἰαμενῆσι δ' ἐν ἄσπετα πώεα λεῖπον
> ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι νηῶν φόβῳ, οἷά τε θῆρας
> ὀσσόμενοι πόντου μεγακήτεος ἐξανιόντας.
> Οὐ γάρ πω ἁλίας γε πάρος ποθὶ νῆας ἴδοντο

25. Commentators regularly heap scorn on Apollonius's "fantastic geography of Europe, with its amazing river system" (Pearson 1938: 455, who has been echoed often; but see Zmudzinski 1999). For patient and more sympathetic treatments see Delage 1930: 220–36; Fränkel 1968: 507–509; Vian 1987. As Fränkel points out, Apollonius was not the first to postulate rivers crossing continents and linking widely separated seas, and his conception, though wrong, is consistent. It allows him to connect Timagetos's geography (which he adjusts) with the route described by Timaeus for the Argonauts in the Mediterranean, as will be outlined in Chapter 7. I am dealing here, however, with space rather than geography. Geographical accuracy is, of course, important to the construction of space, and Apollonius is generally quite careful to be precise when it suits his purpose. Whether he thought he was being faithful to actual geography or was consciously engaging in fiction, literal accuracy matters less when the scene is the interior of Europe, where as we shall see space defies organization from the Greek perspective.

26. Williams 1991: 126 understands the shepherds to be on the island off the mouth of the Istros. That is not impossible. I think, however, given the rapid summary style of the narrative here, that with lines 313–16 the Colchians and the Argonauts have entered the river and that we are now to imagine them as inland from the river's mouth. We probably should understand the same scene of frightened shepherds leaving their flocks repeating itself as the ships pass the various peoples listed in lines 320–22.

οὔτ' οὖν Θρήιξι μιγάδες Σκύθαι οὐδὲ Σίγυννοι,
οὔτ' οὖν Τραυκένιοι, οὔθ' οἱ περὶ Λαύριον ἤδη
Σίνδοι ἐρημαῖον πεδίον μέγα ναιετάοντες.

In the river-meadows, shepherds who sleep in the wild left
their countless flocks in fear of the ships, as though they were seeing
beasts coming out of the sea that teems with monsters.
For they never before had seen ships that cross the salt sea—
not the Skythians that have traffic with the Thracians, nor the Sigunnoi,
nor again the Traukenioi, nor the Sindoi who now
dwell around the deserted plain of Laureion.

This passage may indirectly acknowledge the tradition that the *Argo* was the first ship. If so, it underscores Apollonius's rejection of it; in his poem the *Argo* is a special ship but not the first one. He also transposes the astonishment of those who saw the first ship in that other tradition, which became a *topos* of Roman and later European literature,[27] to these remote shepherds, who feel panic because they have never seen seafaring ships on their river. Thus the novelty of land-dwelling humans transported on water in a hollow wooden hull becomes the peculiarity of the *Argo* and the Colchians' ships leaving the sea, where they belong, to sail inland up a river, which resembles the incongruity of a whale afloat in a river's narrow confines.[28]

The passage implies a comment on the backwardness of these shepherds who mistake ships for sea monsters, especially against the background of Greek thought about ships and seafaring as exemplified in the Homeric epics. Ships enable contact between communities, whether friendly (trade) or hostile (raids for plunder, war); the latter is as important to culture as trade is because standing based on military achievement is basic to Homeric social organization. They also make possible exploration and the clearing of new land for agriculture (*Od.* 9.125–41), and, by extension, colonization. According to this view, then, people who do not know and use seafaring ships are lacking in basic elements of culture; they are also bound to a certain place, cut off from the wider world, and parochial in their outlook. By implication, those who have these ships are culturally superior, and in this respect the passage pokes a sneering fun at the shepherds. This effect is strengthened by the phrase

27. Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: III, 83n4; Livrea 1973: 105; Fränkel 1968: 477.

28. Fränkel 1968: 476 correctly notes that it is sea-going ships that the peoples in this region lack (he notes the emphatic particle in *ἁλίας γε . . . νῆας* in 4.319). They might, that is, have skiffs that enable them to travel short distances along the river, but they cannot undertake the long-distance voyages to other places that are, in Greek tradition, one of the hallmarks of civilization. Fränkel's inference from the plural *ships* that many other such ships have passed along this river would make nonsense of the whole passage. The plurals refer to the Colchian ships and the *Argo*, whose separate entries into the river have been described in the immediately preceding lines (313–16). Livrea 1973: 105 follows Fränkel and attributes the incoherence thus produced to a learned Alexandrian's inability to shed the weight of culture (that is, presumably, by imagining a waterway where ships have never sailed).

ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι ("shepherds who sleep in the wild") in 4.317, both by virtue of its content (they are rustics) and because it alludes to Hesiod *Theogony* 26: ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἶον ("shepherds who sleep in the wild, evil disgraces, nothing but bellies").[29] This is the first line that the Muses address to Hesiod before they give him the gift of poetry, and it helps mark the difference between the basic level of humanity ("mere bellies") and the much higher level of social organization entailed by cities, where poetry is at home, as the rest of Hesiod's praise of the Muses shows. Here there is the same contrast between stages of cultural development, expressed through the possession or lack of the technology of ship-building and sailing, but with the added element of cultural difference.[30] There is a complication, however. These shepherds fear ships (plural) and mistake them for sea creatures (plural)—that is, they are reacting to the sight not just of the *Argo* but also of the Colchian ships that have preceded it up the river. So the Colchians have a share in the Greeks' superiority to these non-Greeks. There seems to be a hierarchy, with Greeks unsurprisingly at the top. The Colchians build ships and can sail, and so are superior to the shepherds; but their ships are inferior to the *Argo* (3.340–46). So the Argonauts sail up one river (the Phasis) and find people who are both like and unlike themselves, possessing similar marks of civilization (including ships) but less civilized than they themselves are (the Colchians' ships are flimsy). They sail up another river past people whose culture is at an earlier stage than theirs.

This characterization of the shepherds, however, and the representation of cultural distance are indirect. It is the reader, for whom ships are commonplace, who sees these people as simple and primitive, prompted by the Hesiodic allusion. The shepherds see the ships and react, and the reader responds to their fear and ignorance (that is, any reader who accepts the subject position that the text seems to offer, of a Greek classed as superior to "barbarians"). What we do not get here—and this is crucial to understanding the passage—is what the Argonauts (and Colchians) see and how they respond. The scene is focalized through the shepherds alone and not through the Argonauts.[31] Consequently, we learn very little about them. Do they run to the riverbank to watch the spectacle,[32] or do they flee the other way in terror? As far as we learn, there is no contact between them and the sailors on the ships. Presumably, then, they

29. This unmistakable allusion has been noted by Livrea 1973: 105, who does not explore its implications.

30. Cultural difference is very much in play in an incident from the campaigns of Alexander that may also be in the background here. Arrian recounts that the sight of horses being transported by ship in India terrified the indigenous "barbarians": ἔκπληξιν παρεῖχον [sc. οἱ ἵπποι διαφαινόμενοι διὰ τῶν ἱππαγωγῶν πλοίων] τοῖς θεωμένοις τῶν βαρβάρων (*An.* 6.3.4–5, cited by Fränkel 1968: 477n48).

31. For this reason, I think that Williams 1991: 126–27 overstates the case in saying that the narrative gives two perspectives, that of the shepherds and that from the ships. Instead of the latter we get the implied (Greek) reader's perspective. But with that adjustment, it is true that, as she says, the passage implies a confrontation between a pastoral and a technically advanced cultural perspective.

32. Like the Indians in Arrian (see n30).

never do find out what ships are; to them ships remain huge sea creatures swimming upstream. The only effect that the ships' passing has on this land is a consequence of their fear and is probably temporary: not the spreading of technical skill to this backwater, as we might have expected,[33] but the disruption of the unity between human and animal that characterizes the pastoral world in Apollonius's contemporary Theocritus. The shepherds *leave* their flocks in the water-meadows (εἰαμενῇσι). Given the ambivalent significance of such places elsewhere in the poem, with the merging of land and water, this location may be a sign of such disruption and of how the shepherds are caught, if only momentarily, between the worlds of pastoral innocence and of a more evolved culture. If so, the passage perhaps conveys a sense of innocent simplicity threatened by technological progress that sits beside the tone of sophisticated superiority to these primitive and non-Greek rustics—a combination found also in the Kyklops episode of the *Odyssey* when Polyphemos speaks affectionately to his favorite ram, beneath whose belly the tricky man of culture, Odysseus, is hiding (*Od.* 9.447–60).

But the narrative is ultimately not interested in these shepherds, nor, it seems, in the land or inhabitants along the eastward course of the Istros. The whole journey from the Black Sea to the river's southern branch that leads to the Adriatic and down along it—from the Scythians to the plain of Laureion—is narrated as a list of people and places who, like the shepherds, had never before seen seafaring ships. So perfunctory is this list that not all the peoples and places mentioned in it can be identified.[34] This manner of narration, although a sophisticated form of the poetic catalogue (a negative catalogue, so to speak), is unique in the *Argonautika*. Most lists of places passed are focalized through the Argonauts, as in the passages discussed in the preceding section, with their emphasis on what the Argonauts *saw*; here the Argonauts, the Colchians, and their ships are the object of sight instead. Even in the eastern part of the Black Sea, when space seems less susceptible than before to appropriation to a Greek perspective, the text describes the inhabitants. But these inland river-dwellers, having never seen large ships, evidently have no culture worth mentioning.[35] After the list of them, the information gets even sparser. The

33. I would not, therefore, follow Williams in saying of this passage that "the poet turns Jason and the Argonauts into early colonizers, exploring and changing new worlds, and bringing their technical advancements into the unsuspecting pastoral landscapes" (1991: 127, followed by Jones 2005: 99), or Fränkel, who says that the *topos* of onlookers' wonder at the sight of ships, like Teiresias's prediction of Odysseus's voyage inland, represents the penetration of the cultural world of the Mediterranean into the continental outback (1968: 477).

34. For what is known of them see Delage 1930: 205–10; Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: III, 160–61; Livrea 1973: 106–7. According to the scholion on 4.321–22, the Sindoi, who inhabit the plain of Laureion, live where the river splits into eastern and southern branches. This information could, however, be an inference from the text rather than derived from independent knowledge, especially since Herodotus (4.28) placed them near the Cimmerian Bosporos.

35. The reality, of course, must have been quite different. Delage (1930: 206) identifies the Sagynnoi as an important people, traders and manufacturers who lived along one of the great economic routes of Europe, representatives of the Hallstatt culture.

Colchians and the Greeks pass a few landmarks[36] and the plain of Laureion, and then they reach the Adriatic (4.323–30), where, with the mention of Artemis's islands, spatial definition begins again. Nothing whatever is said of the space along the lower part of the river's southern arm. It disappears in the gap between the temporal clause ("when they had passed") and "then they came to the Sea of Kronos."

The style of narration and the lack of any interaction with the land mean that there can be no question of production of space inland along the Istros River, and the same is true of the large expanse of land through which the Argonauts pass along the Eridanos and Rhodanos rivers from the Adriatic to the western Mediterranean Sea (see map 3). They enter this supposed river system unwillingly, blown into it by winds sent by Hera because they have to seek purification from Kirke for Apsyrtos's murder (4.578–80, 595–96). Navigation of rivers, it seems, is to be undertaken only out of necessity. Like the earlier river journey, this one is a detour from the more direct route home, which would have been, in the first instance, back through the Bosporos, and from the Adriatic would be eastward through the Gulf of Corinth or around the Peloponnesus. As far as the narrative is concerned, the landscape through which the Argonauts now pass is even more featureless than along the Istros, and almost nothing happens.

There are only two exceptions. The first is the marsh or lake beside the Eridanos from which a stench emanates that the text identifies as coming from the incinerated body of Phaethon; drops of amber in the water, it says, are tears shed for him by his sisters the Heliades (4.597–611). As others have noted,[37] Phaethon's story has considerable bearing on the death of Apsyrtos, which has led to the Argonauts' presence here. In addition, it serves as an *aition* that confers significance on this place through narrative and, we might think, brings it within the orbit of Greek traditions. It has a precedent in earlier Greek poetry, notably Euripides (*Hip.* 732–41). But the narrative adds an alternative explanation for the drops of amber in the water: the Celts say that they are the tears shed by Apollo at the death of his son Asklepios (4.611–18). The narrator makes no direct comment on this story, although since he goes on to tell how the Argonauts were oppressed by the stench from Phaethon's corpse by day and heard the Heliades' laments by night, the implication is that the Celts' explanation is in error.[38] After all, the evidence of the Argonauts' senses should be conclusive.[39] The reeking corpse could be that of either hero, since both were

36. Mount Angouron and the rock of Kauliakos, where the river divides. All we are told about their relation is that the latter is "distant" (ἄπωθεν) from the former (4.323–24). There can be no question here of any spatial system.

37. E.g., Livrea 1973: 185.

38. We might then expect this "correction" of an indigenous people's error to be a Greek appropriation of this place and its associated narrative, but the fact that the Celts also use a Greek myth as an *aition* for the amber rules this out.

39. So Fränkel 1968: 507.

incinerated by Zeus's thunderbolt. But if they heard women keening, the source can only be the Heliades, since there is no counterpart in the story of Asklepios. So we have the testimony of the Argonauts' own experience that the narrator is right and the Celts wrong, testimony for which we have the authority of the narrator . . . in a fiction. If the Celts' version prompts this line of thought, then its function in this passage is to bring to the surface questions about the truth status of this narrative, which shows considerable self-consciousness in other respects as well. And where is this place that supposedly evokes Phaethon's death? If Fränkel is right, the Argonauts arrive there when they penetrate to the "remotest course" of the Eridanos (ἐς δ' ἔβαλον μύχατον ῥόον Ἠριδανοῖο, 4.596), so that they traverse most of the river in less than a line of verse.[40] It is impossible to locate this lake in relation to any other place. Furthermore, earlier texts important to Apollonius were divided on whether or not there really was an Eridanos river. Hesiod mentions it as one of the rivers born from Ocean and Tethys (*Theog.* 338), and its identification with the Po seems to have been current by the Hellenistic period.[41] But Herodotus (3.115) emphatically denies its existence, pointing out that the name is Greek and not foreign and supposing that it was "invented by some poet." Thus the Argonauts are afloat on a river that may or may not exist, afflicted by smells and sounds that may or may not be accurately explained by the story of Phaethon, and in parallel fashion the poem, in so many ways the counterpart to their voyage, brings its own fictionality to the forefront of attention. Categories of truth and fiction are blurred on this inland river.[42]

"From there they entered the deep flow of the Rhodanos" (4.627). That "from there" passes over without comment what must be a significant distance. There follows an account of the supposed joining of the two rivers, and then of the course of the Rhodanos. It flows from the edge of the earth, "where are the gates and dwelling of Night" (4.629–30).[43] Here a river is a link to cosmic elements and their dread powers—an association reinforced if there is an allusion to the home of Night in Hesiod's description of Tartaros (*Theog.* 744–57). The

40. Fränkel 1968: 504. Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: III, 96, 170 takes a slightly different view, but the effect is similar.

41. Livrea 1973: 181–82. See also Delage 1930: 220–21. If the Eridanos is the Po, as he points out, the island of Elektris cannot be near its mouth. In not separating them, he says, Apollonius "semble hésiter entre la mythologie et une géographie plus scientifique." I would say instead that he questions the categories of fact and fiction.

42. I would thus take the claim that the smell rises "still nowadays" (ἔτι νῦν περ), typical of an *aition*, as more than usually dependent on the narrator's authority. Readers can verify the truth of aetiological narratives set on the coast of the Black Sea, but they can do the same for this story only if they can find the Eridanos. Thus the phrase implies a claim to truth, but one that is qualified by its context. The double aetiology here has a parallel in the twin explanations of the sickle under the island of Drepane, which will be discussed in chap. 7.

43. One would expect this expression to mean "the extreme west," so that the sources of the Rhodanos would be symmetrical with Colchis, which is near the Sun's rising; so Delage 1930: 225 and Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: III, 97n3, who take Apollonius's description to mean that the river's upper course leads from Ocean to the Celtic lake, where it then branches. But this ignores the wording of lines 631–34, according to which there are three branches, one of which extends between Ocean and the lake. Fränkel (1968: 507) must therefore be right to locate the river's source, and the home of Night, in the extreme north, where Apollonius also places the origin of the Istros.

Rhodanos, like the Istros, divides into three branches: one, perhaps to be identified with the Rhine,[44] discharging into the stream of Ocean, another, by which the Argonauts have come, into the Eridanos and then the Adriatic, and the third into the Mediterranean near Sardinia. These branches join in a lake in Celtic territory (4.631–36). It is here that the other incident in the river journey occurs. The Argonauts start to take the wrong branch and almost end up in Ocean, but Hera darts down from heaven, alights on the "Herkynian Rock," and redirects them with a shout that resounds through the *aithêr*. The consequences for the Argonauts of this wrong turn would have been serious. "There they came near an ignominious calamity [ἄτῃ ἀεικελίῃ πέλασαν]. . . . From there [Ocean] they would not have returned safely" (4.637, 639). Perhaps the threatened disaster is death, but it can also be endless wandering with no return home. Either way, never to be heard of again, fate unknown, is a danger that always shadows the heroic journey from the *Odyssey* onward, since glory can be gained from such a journey only with its completion in a successful homecoming. Such appears to be the implication of ἀεικελίῃ, "ignominious."[45] The *Argo* is in a region where it is easy to go astray, where, except for the course of the river, space is not clearly defined by the narrative. Hera's direct intervention—usually she acts through agents—the effortlessness of the Argonauts' salvation, and the hyperbolic description of her shout, seem consistent with the emptiness of this region as far as the narrative is concerned, which gives it a feeling of unreality in contrast to the Mediterranean and Adriatic. This brief episode in the Celtic lake, then, contributes importantly to the depiction of the inland areas of the river journeys as a kind of "anti-space," where space is not culturally produced but left vague and in some ways menacing.

The rest of the journey to the Mediterranean mouth of the Rhodanos takes many days (δηναιοί, "after a long time," 4.645), and again the narrative passes over it in a few lines. We are told only that the Argonauts pass through "countless tribes of Celts and Ligurians", and that they come through safely because Hera poured a "marvelous mist" around them each day (4.646–48) as she did with Jason and his companions in Colchis (3.210–12)—that is, she made them invisible.[46] This is the first we have heard of possible hostility on the part of any of the inhabitants of these inland regions, and that is the extent of the Celts' and Ligurians' characterization.[47] Whereas earlier the *Argo* was at least seen by

44. Delage 1930: 225. In actuality, of course, the two rivers do not join.

45. There is also, obviously, an implicit rejection here of Timaeus, who brought the Argonauts to the western Mediterranean by the stream of Ocean. In addition, Apollonius may be "highlighting his refusal to include an *Odyssey*-style *exôkeanismos*" or navigation of Ocean (Romm 1992: 195–96; cf. Jones 2005: 77–80, although I would not agree with her that Apollonius "challenges the idea of a bounded earth"; for him Ocean exists and is earth's boundary).

46. See M. L. West 1966: 155, on Hes. *Theog.* 9.

47. The Celts' hostility here may resonate with the Gauls' incursions into Asia Minor in the 270's BCE., around the time of the *Argonautika*'s writing, as scholars have often suggested (e.g., Delage 1930: 235; cf. Livrea 1973: 195).

shepherds (who were not hostile, just uncultured), now the Argonauts do not have even this much relation with the landscape. Far from leaving signs of their presence that would help create a Greek structuring of space, they pass unobserved and without a trace.[48] This region along the southern branch of the Rhodanos river is simply an expanse of territory that they have to pass through to get to where space will once more become interesting to the narrative.[49]

If place is a point of intersection between different people and their stories with consequent changes in those stories and in the place, as Massey says it is, then these inland areas are placeless, at least as far as the poem's narrative is concerned. The Argonauts do not interact with the inhabitants, about whom we get minimal information, or with the landscape. The interior of the European landmass thus lies outside the spatial system constructed by the poem; or, more pointedly, when the Argonauts leave the Black and Adriatic seas and sail up rivers, the production of space from a Greek perspective runs up against its limits. To a greater extent than upriver in Colchis, they enter a region that is, and remains, alien to them.[50]

These rivers can either be a way back to the more familiar space of the Mediterranean or conduits to dimly known places where human resources are dwarfed by cosmic powers.[51] If rivers in Greco-Roman, Egyptian, and Near Eastern cultures have traditionally been associated with knowledge, because they lead through unexplored places to hidden sources and so to new discoveries,[52] this is a knowledge that the *Argonautika* conspicuously declines. Rivers in this poem have their dangers, not just because of the hostility of Ligurians and Celts but also because of the risk of getting lost forever. The Rhodanos can take the Argonauts to the sea, but it can also lead them to—another river. Ocean is a river that encircles the edge of the earth. To sail on it is thus not to progress,

48. Cf. Harder 1994: 27.

49. Accordingly, as soon as they have emerged from the river and land on the Stoikhades islands, the text gives us an *aition* (4.649–53), although another atypical one, as befits a point of transition from unmarked space. The Argonauts are safe, says the narrative, thanks to Castor and Pollux, whose prayers to Zeus (4.588–90) have been effective, and to whom, as the Dioskouroi (as they are now called for the first time in the poem), altars and shrines are instituted for all time. Presumably the Argonauts build a shrine and altar here, but the text does not quite say that; and it goes on to comment that they were not protectors only of this voyage but Zeus made them patrons of the ships of those born later as well. To generalize from this one instance may be to depict it as foundational, but doing so also drains it of temporal and local specificity. This is an oddly placeless *aition*; contrast the shrine Lykos promises to build to these brothers, 2.806–10. There is a more typical *aition* in connection with the Argonauts' next stop, the island of Aithalie (4.649–58).

50. One could always say that Apollonius simply had no information about these inland areas and therefore left them undescribed (Vian 1987: 255). That no information was available by his time is in itself implausible; trade routes up into them from the Adriatic and the Mediterranean must have been established for centuries by his time (Zmudzinski 1999). But even if these areas were unknown to the Greeks, that just pushes the question back a step: why were they unknown? Apollonius would then be registering a general Greek lack of interest in the interior of the land mass because of the spatial clarity afforded by the coasts.

51. This is true, I think, even though the stream of Ocean circling the world could also be seen as giving spatial definition to the *oikoumene*. It is still outside humanly known space, on the edge of the world, and can be felt as a place of danger.

52. Herendeen 1981.

but only to go in a circle;[53] and that is why it threatens the Argonauts with loss of homecoming. It is true that their own journey also describes a circle, and that they end up where they started, on the shore at Pagasae. But it makes all the difference that this ultimately successful journey takes place not only within the area bounded by Ocean but also along the coasts of seas.

Writing about the inland journey that Teiresias prophesies for Odysseus in the *Odyssey*, Purves has argued that it reflects a conception of space in which the seacoast is a place of directional orientation, whereas to go inland is dangerous because it is to lose that clarity. More generally, conceptual categories of various kinds, and even language itself, which are clearly demarcated in the familiar coastal spaces, get confused inland.[54] Her argument fits the *Argonautika* as well as the *Odyssey*. In the poem's terms, by comparison with inland areas, the sea shore is a place of division between land and sea as well as a place for their meeting, and this might stand for the maintaining of crisp distinctions between cultural categories and for spatial clarity. Seen from the coast, rivers help demarcate space. But as inland waterways, they blur the division between the elements of earth and water. Along them, distinctions break down: between ships and sea monsters, between truth and fiction, between rivers that actually exist and those that do not, between the right direction and the wrong one, and, in Colchis, between Greeks and others. Rivers thus lead either to the sea and security or away from it to confusion and wandering.[55] Purves's conclusions about space in the *Odyssey* help clarify why inland regions resist appropriation to the *Argonautika*'s spatial system.

The impression given by the shepherds' terror along the Istros turns out to be correct: ships were not meant to navigate rivers.

Land and Sea: A Summary

What the shepherds think they see amounts to an incompatible mixture of the sea and the land's interior that parallels the actual incongruity of ships built for

53. Cf. Jones 2005: 77–80, and especially 80: "A round river expresses both the finite and the infinite. It provides a boundary for the world, while at the same time offering an endless journey. The only ending is at the starting point, which can serve as a new beginning as well." Of course, several of Apollonius's predecessors had the Argonauts ride a segment of Ocean from Colchis either to Libya (Hesiod and Pindar) or to Spain and the western Mediterranean (Timaeus). Apollonius clearly rejected this option.

54. Purves 2006b. I owe a general debt to this article for helping me think about the subject of this chapter. For some of the categories that the shore helps to keep distinct in Greek thought, see Buxton 1994: 102–4.

55. Rivers are thus confining, unlike the sea. On them, there are only two possible directions. Several times in the poem, when the sea is mentioned with an implicit contrast to a river, a word is used for it, *πέλαγος*, that emphasizes its broad, flat expanse: 2.608, 620 (just after the Argonauts have issued safely from the river-like Bosporos); 4.240 (the Colchians emerge into the sea from the Phasis); 4.633 (the Rhodanos discharges into the Sardinian Sea). Cf. 4.1270 (the open sea as opposed to the Syrtis), 1538, 1578 (the open sea as opposed to Lake Tritonis). At 1.928 the Argonauts leave the *πέλαγος* for the river-like Hellespont, but the *τὸ μέν . . . τὸ δέ* construction necessitates the same word being supplied for the waters of the latter.

sea voyaging sailing inland on a river. Their misinterpretation is thematically important to the poem. The spectacle and what it suggests to the shepherds recall an earlier incident, when the Gegeneis blocked the harbor at Kyzikos to trap the *Argo*, "as though ambushing a sea animal inside" (1.991: *πόντιον οἷά τε θῆρα λοχώμενοι ἔνδον ἐόντα*). We discussed earlier (chap 4) the way this comparison, along with their attempt to landlock part of the sea and the position of their corpses after the battle half in and half out of the water, represents a mixing of categories that ultimately gets sorted out when the Argonauts institute the cult of the Great Mother atop Mount Dindymon and then set sail for a second time, now successfully. This process of bringing clarity out of confusion was part of the definition of the Kyzikos peninsula as Greek colonial space. It has a parallel late in the poem in the Argonauts' portage of the *Argo* over the North African waste land from the Syrtis to the sea, which also recalls the sight of the *Argo* on the Istros. The ship is relaunched in Lake Tritonis but then wanders in search of a way out of the lake into the sea—again in parallel to the scene of it on the river. This joining of land and a seagoing vessel, we noted, was part of a series of categorical crossings that preceded the re-establishment of clear distinctions with colonial implications, when the *Argo* again sails on the sea. The emergence of Thera from the sea as a result of the submerging of the clod of earth in water represents a similar pattern of stability arising from a mixture of elements. It will later serve as the launching point for colonization of Cyrene in the culmination of a process begun on Lemnos, another island where category blurring (this time of gender) was followed by re-establishment of boundaries. Now we can see both stages of this story in the context of the poem's depiction of islands as special settings for divine epiphanies or colonial destiny. Other examples of the mixing of land and sea that pose challenges successfully surmounted are the two pairs of clashing rocks that threaten to crush the *Argo* between them. The Argonauts must pass through the Cyanean Rocks in order to get out of the confining Bosporos into the Black Sea, where their passage will produce a spatial system; in accordance with this definition of space, the rocks will be fixed in place after their passage, no longer moving together through the water but forming the edge of the mainland on either side of the channel. The Planktai or Wandering Rocks, on the other hand, will remain in motion as an obstacle for Odysseus to avoid later. But the Argonauts must pass through them in order to emerge from the threatening space familiar from the *Odyssey* to the more familiar space of the Mediterranean.[56]

As we also have seen (chap. 3), the scenes at Pagasae and the departure of the Argo from its harbor raise the question of the relation between land and sea.

56. The two pairs of rocks and the emergence of Thera have been well discussed by Nishimura-Jensen 2000 as examples of "unstable geographies" in the *Argonautika*. I would put them in the context of the blurring of boundaries of various kinds and efforts by the text to reestablish definitions. But I agree that questions of instability are central to the poem, and movements toward stability and clarity are incomplete (see chap. 8).

There the shore appears as a liminal space where movement on land ends and sailing begins, both a place where land and sea meet and the dividing line between them. Even earlier, the trees that have followed Orpheus from the mountains and stand in rows on the shore (1.26–31) are an emblem of observance of this boundary, in contrast to the corpses of the disorderly Gegeneis that transgress it. When the Argonauts launch their ship, pushing it on dry land by grasping the oar handles from outside in an inversion of rowing, we have the first hint of the distinction and simultaneous mixing of these elements that anticipates the portage in Libya. But then they launch the ship and the next day depart rowing properly on water, as they will return the *Argo* to the sea in that later episode. As they row away from Iolkos, land and sea are brought into a parallel relation by the comparison of the ship's wake to a path through a green meadow (1.545–46). The simile, like the shore, joins the two elements but also acknowledges their difference, as likening one thing to another always does. Still, the question of their relation is raised, and it is expressed more pointedly in the picture of the centaur Kheiron, who has come down from the mountain with his wife to see the Argonauts off and wets his feet in the water on the shore (1.553–58). This is an image of category blurring: between land and sea, and between human and beast.

If the shore represents directional clarity whereas categories are put at risk inland, as Purves argues, we can see what is at stake in the relation between land and sea that the *Argonautika* so persistently holds up to question. It follows that in the depiction of rivers the poem both defines space when they appear as boundaries and, through their use as routes inland, explores the extremities that set limits on that definition. In addition, the shore is prominent in the poem because, in the Greeks' use of space, the issue was not just to maintain a distinction between land and sea but to bring them into an appropriate and culturally productive relation to each other. Examples might be sailing to different locations on the coast for trade or plunder, or, in the terms of this poem, sailing on a heroic quest to recover the Golden Fleece. The Greeks outside the mainland tended to establish colonies along coasts, leaving the hinterland to indigenous peoples. The relation between earth and sea is thus fundamental to their production of space, because it organized both their understanding of their place in the world and many of their actual social and economic practices. And finally, the relation between earth and water figures prominently in the poem because it focuses questions about boundaries and distinctions in general. To what extent are they valid or artificial constructions? Are they rigid, or can they be crossed, with distinctions weakened or broken down? These questions were particularly applicable to third-century Alexandria, where differences between Greek and non-Greek were opened to scrutiny and renegotiation. In the episode in Colchis in book 3, ethnic differences are confronted directly and with ambivalence; but elsewhere in the poem as well, boundaries, limits, and definitions are explored as part of the work of cultural orientation in a world of new and challenging complexity.

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7

The Roundabout Homecoming

The *Argo*'s inland journeys by river connect its Black Sea voyage with its attempted return to Greece via the Adriatic Sea, and the latter with its long westward loop through the Sardinian Sea and the Strait of Messina to Drepane and then Libya. In sharp contrast to the voyage from Greece to Colchis, this deviation to the west has an improvised, ad hoc feeling; the different parts seem added to each other with either flimsy or no motivation. Why the Argonauts could not return to Greece the way they came, through a now tamed Bosporos, is never explained; at most, Phineus tells them that a divinity will lead them on another course from Colchis (2.421–22). Evidently they are simply fated to take another route. The detour from the Adriatic to the Tyrrhenian Sea is motivated by the need to seek purification from Kirke for the murder of Apsyrtos, but that consideration seems not to have troubled any previous writer on the Argonautic story. Fate again is the only explanation the narrator gives for the storm that blows the Argonauts off course to Libya (4.1225–27). Possibly the narrative of book 4 is simply inept. Perhaps, as Vian suggests, Apollonius had to account for the signs (σήματα) of the Argo's presence west of Italy (4.552–56),[1] and by the same logic in the Adriatic, and so he tacked on these further wanderings. But did he have to be so clumsy about it?

Or possibly—I would say probably, given the high degree of artistry in the rest of the poem—this ostensible randomness is deliberate and intended to call attention to what the narrative is doing. It seems

1. Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: III, 19.

to be doing a lot of things, but one important concern is spatial. I suggest, that is, that the apparent randomness of development emphasizes that the western voyage is completing the circle begun with the journey to Colchis that has mainland Greece as its center. It draws attention to the poem's spatial program, and so there is really nothing random about the plot of book 4 at all. At the same time, along with the appearance of arbitrariness there is a pose by the narrator of a loss of control over the narrative and a greater dependence on the Muses, as many have noticed. Paradoxically, this stresses the narrator's actual control: the voyage develops in the directions it does as a result of choices he makes. But in still another manifestation of how voyage and poem are identified, the apparent relaxation of narratorial authority and of clear motivation run parallel with the way the Argonauts now move into areas that are more and more alien to them and fantastic from the point of view of contemporary geography: from the series of places destined to be the scenes of Odysseus's adventures, and incorporated (with careful authorial control) into this poem from the *Odyssey*, through Drepane and the real possibility that Alkinoos will force Jason to give Medea to the pursuing Colchians, to the Argonauts' disorientation and despair in the Libyan desert. In particular, the places associated with Odysseus's wanderings, which by Apollonius's time had been conventionally located in South Italy, Sicily, and the Adriatic, and had long been familiar to, and colonized by, the Greeks, in this poem remain (with the exception of Drepane/Phaiakia/Corcyra) mysterious and dangerous, untouched by the *Argo*'s passing. Here too, and not only in the eastern part of the Black Sea or inland areas accessible only by river, the definition of space encounters limits.[2]

The Itinerary of the Return Voyage

We can observe the author, if not the narrator, in firm control of his poem and see how he deliberately shaped the westward voyage so that it would complete his construction of the most encompassing space possible, by considering what he did with his sources. Enough is known about previous versions of the *Argo*'s itinerary back to Greece to make it clear that Apollonius combined various routes they offered him in a uniquely comprehensive way. The journey through the Bosporos and along the southern coast of the Black Sea to Colchis was well established by his time.[3] But whereas his contemporaries

2. Hunter 2008b: 140 also connects the apparent arbitrariness of the westward voyage with the inclusion of places from Odysseus's wanderings. For interesting remarks on "le climat d'insécurité" about the order of the itinerary in book 4, and on how geography is put in service of the plot of the poem, see Hurst 1998: 285–88.

3. For a possible pre-Odyssean *Argonautika* with incidents set on the *north* coast of the Black Sea, see M. L. West 2005, especially 47–59.

Callimachus[4] and Dionysius Skytobrachion, and also Herodorus of Heraclea, brought the Argonauts back the way they came through the Bosporos, Propontis, and Hellespont, Apollonius uses Timagetos's geography of the region to take them westward up the Istros. Unlike Timagetos, however, either by his own invention or following another source, he depicts the southern branch of the Istros as emptying into the Adriatic rather than (as Timagetos did) into the Tyrrhenian Sea, and is thus able to take the Argonauts along the north and east coasts of the Adriatic. Then, to get them to the Western Mediterranean, he has to use the Eridanos, a Celtic lake, and then the Rhone. At this point he picks up the itinerary given by Timaeus, who had the Argonauts sail from the Black Sea up the River Tanais (Don), carry the ship overland to the stream of Ocean, and sail west and southward to Gades in Spain, and then into the Mediterranean. After visiting Kirke, Apollonius's Argonauts sail through the Strait of Messina, passing some of the same landmarks as Odysseus except that they pass through the Planktai rather than past Skylla or Kharybdis, and then proceed to Drepane, the later Corcyra. There remains the Libyan part of the voyage, which Apollonius splices on by means of a storm that blows the Argonauts off course after they leave Phaiakia. Some of his predecessors had brought the Argonauts up the Phasis and then south via Ocean to the Nile (Hecataeus of Miletus) or Lake Tritonis in the Cyrenaica (Hesiod and Pindar). From Libya Apollonius has the Argonauts head north, re-enter the Aegean Sea by sailing past the eastern tip of Crete, pass the site of the future island of Thera, and eventually return to Iolkos.[5]

What we can see from this summary is that whereas other writers took the Argonauts to the Adriatic or the western Mediterranean or north Africa, Apollonius combined all three areas into the longest and most comprehensive itinerary in any account of the Argonautic saga that we know. This inclusiveness reflects not just his interest in geography for its own sake but his attempt to construct a picture of an *oikoumenê* centered on the Mediterranean in traditional style, despite the broadening of geographical horizons by Alexander's conquests. The Argonauts' various encounters, the histories (including in some cases the future development) of the various places they pass through, and the sequence in which they visit these places construct a spatial system in

4. That Callimachus, like Sophocles in his *Skythians*, brought the Argonauts back through the Bosporos we learn from the scholion on 4.282–91a. But the same note seems to say that according to Callimachus the pursuing Colchians split into two groups, as in Apollonius; those who sailed to the Adriatic did not catch the Argonauts, but those who chased them through the Bosporos found them on Corcyra. What Callimachus had the Argonauts doing so far out of their way is anyone's guess, if indeed this information is accurate. And if it is, do both pieces of information refer to the *Aitia* or to two different poems? See Callim. frr. 11–12 Pfeiffer, and Delage 1930: 68–73, who doubts that Callimachus brought the Colchians to the Adriatic at all, at least in the *Aitia*.

5. Most of our information about the Argonauts' route home in Apollonius's predecessors is given in the scholia on 4.257–62b and 282–91b. See the helpful summary by Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: III, 16–20. Vian 1987 also shows how accounts of the return voyage evolved over the centuries hand in hand with geographical knowledge and situates Apollonius within that development.

which the world is represented from a pronounced Greek viewpoint, with mainland Greece at its center. Around the edges of the space thus defined the Greeks had established colonies centuries before Apollonius's time, although much later than the putative era of the Argonautic expedition. In addition to colonization in the Black Sea region and in parts of the Adriatic, they founded Massalia (Marseilles) near the mouth of the Rhone and colonized Aithalie (Elba),[6] the west coast of southern Italy, the Lipari Islands, Sicily, and of course Cyrene. Obviously the places mentioned in the text form only the crudest sketch by comparison with the complex map of Greek colonial activity from the Archaic period on. But this schematic outline only shows once again how space is a construct that serves purposes of cultural self-definition rather than faithful geography. Mythic "fantasy" that serves ideological ends is as much a part of the production of space as accurate geography.

The *Argo* in the Adriatic Sea

Sailing the Istros River in pursuit of the Argonauts, the Colchians actually arrive in the Adriatic Sea before their quarry, so that when the Argonauts get there they find their way blocked by the enemy. Their course in the Adriatic is complicated because of the need to deal with the Colchians (see map 3). The Argonauts land first on one of the Brugeides Islands, whereas the Colchians have taken up positions on neighboring islands and along the coast of the mainland. After the murder of Apsyrtos, they move north to Elektris Island in a feinting maneuver, and then, when the Colchians do not pursue them, they sail south along the eastern coast of the Adriatic past a series of islands, heading toward Drepane, home of the Phaiakians. When they are in sight of the island of Nymphaie, considered the home of Kalypso by Apollonius's time, with the Keraunian Mountains dimly visible in the distance, Hera sends winds that blow them northward all the way back to Elektris Island and then into the Eridanos River. Eventually, of course, they do reach Drepane, but only at the end of the detour west to Kirke. The Adriatic voyage may seem pointless. Its inconclusiveness seems appropriate, however, because it is in keeping with the character of the Adriatic and its eastern coast as the Greeks experienced and conceived of it, and as Apollonius implicitly portrays it. When they emerge into this sea, the Argonauts enter an in-between space, neither Greek nor wholly "barbarian," a space, in fact, where Hellenism met one of its limits.

There was Greek colonial activity in the Adriatic from an early time, but at least until the fourth century BCE it was not extensive.[7] The most powerful

6. Boardman 1980: 214.

7. For summaries of what is known about Greek settlement in the Adriatic, see Beaumont 1936: 163–81; Boardman 1980: 225–29; Cabanes 1988: 51–61 and 2008; Bakhuizen 1987; Wilkes 1992: 104–16.

colony was on the island of Corcyra at the southern end of the Adriatic, founded by Corinthians in 733 BCE. Corcyreans and Corinthians founded Dyrrhachium (or Epidamnus) on the mainland to the north about a century later and Apollonia south of Dyrrhachium in the early sixth century. There were a few Greek colonies north of Dyrrachium, not on the mainland, which was controlled by the Illyrians, but on islands: Black Corcyra (so called from its dense forests), Issa, and later (385 BCE) Pharos, founded respectively by Cnidians, Syracusans (evidently), and Parians. By 230 BCE, Pharos was under Illyrian control. Greeks certainly traded to the north, and some undoubtedly settled there,[8] and there were Greek towns in the Po River Valley on the northern Italian coast. But the eastern coast and considerable territory inland were held by the various tribes of the Illyrians, with whom, as they became more organized in various groupings under different kings, the Greeks had difficult relations from the late fifth century BCE on.[9] Philip, Alexander, and Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, all fought wars with them, as did successor kings of Macedonia, so that Greek and Illyrian relations were characterized by hostility and suspicion at the time when the *Argonautika* was written. It might be legitimate to speak of Corinthian and Corcyrean "spheres of influence" in the south that controlled trade routes to the north and across to the Italian peninsula, and also controlled the few routes inland and across to Greece.[10] But beyond this limited zone, which extended no farther north than Dyrrhachium, it seems fair to say that "the Greeks never took really firm root on the shores of the Adriatic."[11]

Relations between Greeks and Illyrians could be friendly, however, especially in the earlier period. From the beginning Illyrians lived in both Dyrrhachium and Apollonia, and Dyrrhachium especially appears to have organized trade with its hinterland.[12] Although there could be friction—the Illyrian Taulanti were drawn into the conflict between aristocrats and people of Dyrrhachium in the run-up to the Peloponnesian War[13]—cooperation was evidently the rule, and Greek imports had some effect on Illyrian material culture.[14] But the Greeks in general thought of the Illyrians as barbarians, completely different from themselves. And because of their tenuous foothold there, they imagined the Adriatic Sea and its western coast as a liminal space, where what was familiar to them ended and what was mysterious, inhuman, and often

8. Bakhuizen 1987: 186.

9. Illyrian kingdoms: Hammond 1966; difficult relations and warfare: Wilkes 1992: 117–55.

10. Bakhuizen 1987: 190–91. In the late fourth century BCE, as he notes, Dyrrhachium and Apollonia became part of the Illyrian kingdom.

11. Beaumont 1936: 194.

12. Wilkes 1992: 111–13. He discusses evidence from burials indicating a degree of mixing of the peoples in Dyrrachium, whereas they seem to have kept themselves in separate communities in Apollonia, where the wealthy few of the city may have reduced the local population to serfdom (cf. Cabanes 1988: 60).

13. Thuc. 1.24. Note his comment that the city had previously been weakened by a war with its neighbors.

14. Wilkes 1992: 104–9.

threatening began.[15] This conception of the region, arising in the imagination from the actual conditions of Greeks living amid non-Greeks who, with few exceptions, predominated, seems to inform Apollonius's account of the Argonauts' experience here. His portrayal of this space goes beyond the simple dichotomy of Greek and "barbarian." But—although these identifications were not original to Apollonius—it fits with the area's imagined character that the Phaiakians, who in the *Odyssey* played a transitional role between the world of Odysseus's wanderings and that of his everyday experience, should be located on Corcyra, around where the Ionian Sea merges with the Adriatic, and that Kalypso's island should be placed north of there, well inside this sea.

It is not, however, as though the Argonauts fail to leave signs of their presence within this space. *Aitia* do occur here, but several preserve the story of the treacherous murder of Apsyrtos in the precinct of Artemis,[16] which the narrative characterizes in various ways as shameful for Jason, Medea, and the Argonauts. Jason buries the body while it is still wet with blood or before rigor mortis has occurred—that is, hastily.[17] "Still now [ἔτι νῦν] those bones lie there among the Apsyrtians" (4.480–81)—the Colchians, who, fearing to return home and face Aietes' wrath at their failure to recover Medea, permanently settle these islands, which are renamed in honor of the dead leader who now becomes their eponymous hero.[18] Other Colchians build a town beside the Illyrian River as guests of the Enkhelees, and others settle in the Keraunian Mountains, having been prevented by Zeus's thunderbolt from crossing to the island opposite—that is, Drepane (4.516–21). Presumably the reason is that the other band of Colchians, which later catches up with the Argonauts there, is to settle on that island; but it is interesting, and perhaps another comment on the Argonauts' guilt, that their adversaries almost go straight to the island that they will reach only after much further toil and wandering. According to Apollonius, the Keraunian Mountains get their name from this use of the thunderbolt (*keraunos*), and the sight of them from now on (such as the Argonauts themselves will soon get, 4.575–76) also indirectly recalls Apsyrtos's murder. With

15. Cabanes 2008: 155–58 (citing Vian 1963: 128–29); Wilkes 1992: 103–4; Wallace 1998: 214–16. Brasidas' speech (Thuc. 4.126), which several of these writers cite, is textbook Greek / barbarian discourse: the Illyrians' war cry is loud and they shake their weapons aloft in a frightening way (barbarian excess) but they run away when it comes to fighting at close quarters (barbarian cowardice). Wallace shows how Illyria has served as an image of this polarization from antiquity onward, but also how that image has often been complicated.

16. This location is all the more inappropriate if we contrast the Argonauts' veneration of Hekate just before they leave the Black Sea and recall that Artemis was the city goddess of Iolkos.

17. On possible meanings of *ὑγρόν*, "moist, supple," in 4.480, see Livrea 1973: 154. As he says, whatever the exact meaning the point is "che il seppellimento di Absirto è talmente rapido, che in lui non si era ancora estinto l'ultimo palpito di vita."

18. 4.511–15. That the name did evoke the murder of Apsyrtos as its *aition* is demonstrated by Strabo (7.5.5): *παρ' ὅλην δ' ἣν εἶπον παραλίαν νῆσοι μὲν αἱ Ἀψυρτίδες, περὶ ἃς ἡ Μήδεια λέγεται διαφθεῖραι τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἄψυρτον διώκοντα αὐτήν* ("Along the whole coast I have described are islands: [first] the Apsyrtides, where Medea is said to have killed her brother Apsyrtos, who was pursuing her"). He is of course adopting a slightly different version of the story that makes Medea the sole murderer. Since he is obviously not following Apollonius here, he provides "independent" evidence of the existence of the Apsyrtian Islands and the *aition* of their name.

these new settlers and with the lasting presence of Apsyrtos's bones, the *Argo*'s presence makes permanent changes to this region, but the implications of the story they evoke are, for the Greeks, ambivalent. That story could be read as either telling how clever Greeks outwitted gullible "barbarians," if one ignores certain elements such as Medea's role, or as one of Greek treachery.

Such, at least, are the alternatives open to a later observer in the Adriatic. From the way the *Argonautika* itself presents the story, however, it is hard to read it as illustrating Greek superiority to "barbarians." That point is reinforced by the presence, acknowledged by the text, of indigenous inhabitants of these northern islands and the nearby coast who sympathize with the Colchians against the Argonauts and who are ready to force Jason to surrender Medea on the grounds that she has been stolen (4.398–400).[19] This is hardly "barbarian" solidarity and anti-Greek bias. These local peoples enjoy a social order equivalent to—in fact, indistinguishable from—that of Greeks. They have rulers who live up to the traditional Greek epic ideal, "rulers who uphold what is right" (*θεμιστοῦχοι βασιλῆες*, 4.347).[20] These leaders are willing to "render judgment" (*δικάσῃσι*) as to whether Medea should be returned to her father's house or should be allowed to go to Greece with the Argonauts, as Alkinoos, who is presented as another just ruler, later in fact does. Not only is the moral balance tilted toward these foreigners, but the Greeks are also being confronted with their own standards of social order and right conduct in these foreigners in a way that finally leaves little room for difference between Greeks and others.[21] If there is any difference, it is that those others embody the ideals of Hellenism more fully than the Greeks in this instance do. Thus the Adriatic, which the Greeks thought of as demarcating Greeks from non-Greeks, is the scene for an examination of that division and for a merging across it.[22]

Objects buried beneath the earth seem to be a leitmotif of space in the Adriatic. In addition to Apsyrtos's bones there are two other instances. The first suggests a more positive side of the Argonauts' deeds. When they see that

19. Jason speaks these lines to Medea in order to stress the desperation of their situation and so to justify his negotiations with the Colchians, but he inadvertently acknowledges the moral weakness of his position too. There may be irony in the word "stolen" (*λῃσθεῖσαν*), given the Illyrians' reputation for piracy among the Greeks. Here the accusation is being returned from the Illyrians' point of view.

20. The epithet that Apollonius uses here occurs nowhere else, but previous non-Homeric hexameter poetry has the metrically equivalent *θεμιστοπόλοι*: *h. Dem.* 103, 215, 473; Hes. frr. 10.1, 10(a).25 M-W. The Hesiodic examples, interestingly, both concern the sons of Aiolos, Jason's own lineage.

21. Parts of Illyria were organized in kingdoms at various times from a relatively late date, but earlier the Greeks were struck by their lack of a polis and their organization in loose tribal confederations (Wilkes 1992: 110). A reader holding that image of them would have been especially impressed by the portrayal of them as having rulers (*βασιλῆες*) at all.

22. Cf. Wallace 1998: 214: "From Herodotus to Byron, Illyria has been cited as the opposite of Greece, used to illuminate, by contrast, the particular qualities of Greece. This contrast has by no means been straightforward, since it has not always been obvious where Greece stops and Illyria begins. Indeed Illyria serves to highlight the fact that the conventional polarization between Greek and barbarian/other, which persisted through ancient Greek history and has been revived since independence in 1830, created as much anxiety and lack of distinction as it did clarity."

the Colchians have given up the pursuit because of their leader's death, the Argonauts head south toward home (as they think), but because the many islands make navigation difficult, they put to shore in the land of the Hylleans. At first hostile (perhaps because they sided with Apsyrtos in his dispute with Jason),[23] the Hylleans now devise a route for them. In return, the Argonauts give them one of the two tripods that Jason obtained from Apollo when he went to consult the Delphic oracle about the expedition. The inhabitants of the land in which one of these tripods lay would never be displaced by an invading enemy. "Therefore still now [*εἰσέτι νῦν*] this tripod is hidden in that land, far beneath the earth's surface, near the kindly city Hylleïs, so that it should be forever invisible to mortals" (4.534–36). Here is an instance of successful exchange that contrasts with the failures of reciprocity in Colchis. More immediately, the gift-giving here contrasts with the offer of guest-gifts (*ξεινήια δῶρα*, 4.422) to allay Apsyrtos's hostility and entice him to go and meet Medea so that Jason can ambush him. The present case suggests a more positive model of interaction between Greeks and others, although the Hylleans, Phaiakians who migrated from Drepane, have Greek affinities: they are named after Herakles' son Hyllos, their now-dead leader. This successful reciprocity also, of course, looks forward to the exchange in Libya of the other tripod for a clod of earth between Euphemos and Triton, who also helps the Argonauts with their route (4.1547–85).

Still, although the Argonauts leave something behind them that will permanently affect the land, it is, as the text stresses, invisible. Its presence is detectable only in its effect: the Hylleans have never been dislodged from their home. How much this fact can evoke a narrative of the Argonauts' voyage is at least doubtful. In this respect, we may detect another limit on the construction of space in the poem. But the tripod does have significance for Greek colonial enterprises that took place in the Adriatic, and therefore for a Greek spatial system centered in the south, through the Hylleans' connection with Drepane and with Greece through Hyllos. Insofar as the Hylleans, like the Phaiakians, can be considered non-Greek,[24] the Argonauts' relations with them seem to

23. Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: III, 93n3, citing 4.405–7. Fränkel 1968: 500–501 (quoted with approval by Livrea 1973: 164), takes *ὡς καὶ πρίν* in a different way: the Hylleans were not hostile to the Argonauts as they were not before. This gets around the slight awkwardness of seeming to refer to something that has not explicitly been mentioned previously, but the parallel Fränkel cites and explains in a similar way, 1.352, seems to me if anything to go against his view. I think that the contrast created by the reading I have adopted, between hostile and cooperative relations with local peoples, is effective here.

24. The Hylleans' identity seems ambiguous: are they "barbarians" or Greeks (at least through identification with Hyllos, who himself is only half Greek)? Pseudo-Skymnos (405–12) says that they were Greeks by birth who became "barbarized" (*ἐκβαρβαρωθῆναι*) by contact with their neighbors' customs. He postdates Apollonius but is relevant because he names as his sources Timaeus and Eratosthenes, the former of whom Apollonius relied on especially in the Adriatic section of the poem. The line that describes the band of Phaiakians Hyllos took with him may give a hint of how Apollonius viewed them: they are "autochthonous" to pre-colonial Drepane and so non-Greek (4.548: *αὐτόχθονα λαόν*).

provide a model of interaction whereby the Greeks cooperate with a local people without dislodging them or encroaching on their land—a situation that must have corresponded with actual Greek experience in many parts of the Adriatic.[25] If so, there is an interesting contrast with the Phaiakians themselves, who will be displaced by Greek colonists. They and the Hylleans thus mark respectively the possibilities for Greek colonization in the southern Adriatic and the limits on it to the north.

It is in Drepane that the third object hidden in the ground is located, and although the episode set there occurs at the end of the Argonauts' westward voyage, it will be convenient to consider it here. This hidden object is associated with the early history of the island and its people (4.983–92):

> *ἔστι δέ τις πορθμοῖο παροιτέρη Ἰονίοιο*
> *ἀμφιλαφὴς πίειρα Κεραυνίῃ εἰν ἁλὶ νῆσος,*
> *ἣ ὕπὸ δὴ κεῖσθαι δρέπανον φάτις—ἴλατε, Μοῦσαι,*
> *οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐνέπω προτέρων ἔπος—ᾧ ἀπὸ πατρὸς*
> *μήδεα νηλειῶς ἔταμε Κρόνος· οἱ δέ ἑ Δηοῦς*
> *κλείουσι χθονίης καλαμητόμον ἔμμεναι ἅρπην·*
> *Δηὼ γὰρ κείνῃ ἐνὶ δή ποτε νάσσατο γαίῃ,*
> *Τιτῆνας δ' ἔδαεν στάχυν ὄμπνιον ἀμήσασθαι,*
> *Μάκριδα φιλαμένη. Δρεπάνη τόθεν ἐκληίσται*
> *οὔνομα Φαιήκων ἱερὴ τροφός· ὣς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ*
> *αἵματος Οὐρανίοιο γένος Φαίηκες ἔασι.*
>
> There is, in front of the Ionian channel [the southern Adriatic]
> a certain fertile island with two harbors (?) in the Keraunian sea,
> beneath whose surface it is said there lies the sickle [*drepanon*]—pardon
> me, Muses,
> I do not tell the tale told by earlier men of my own free will—with which
> Kronos ruthlessly cut off his father's genitals. Others say it is
> the stalk-cutting sickle of Deo [Demeter], goddess of the earth.
> For Deo once lived in that land,
> and she taught the Titans to reap the nourishing grain
> out of love for Makris. For that reason the holy nurse of the Phaiakians
> is called by the name Drepane [Sickle]. And so the Phaiakians themselves
> spring by birth from the blood of Ouranos.

Like the bones of Apsyrtos, the sickle planted beneath the soil provides the *aition* for a name and tells of the origins of the island's inhabitants. But as with the lake alongside the Eridanos River, we are given two explanations of this object and therefore of the name: those attributed to a *φάτις* or "saying" of

25. The episode at Cape Acherousia contrasts with this one in this respect. There cooperation was a way of representing colonial relations but the Greeks' actual treatment of the Mariandynoi was quite different (see chap. 4). Here cooperation marks the limits on Greek colonization.

earlier men and to "others" respectively. Both sources are indicated only vaguely,[26] and this seems to be a way for the narrator to avoid taking responsibility for either account; he even begs pardon for having to relate the first story from the Muses, the very goddesses who presumably enable him to know and sing it. Both stories are related in that they recount respectively a destructive and a constructive use of the sickle by Titans. It is hard to know whether the narrator finally decides between them. "For that reason" (*τόθεν*) would seem at first to refer to the second account, so that the island is called Drepane because there Demeter taught agriculture to the Titans. The characterization of the island as fertile ("the holy nurse of the Phaiakians") would seem to support that version. But then there is the last sentence, which seems to suggest that the Phaiakians were born from the drops of blood from Ouranos's wound,[27] and which, because it is introduced by "and so" (*ὣς δὲ καί*), would thus follow from the first story. "For that reason" (*τόθεν*), it seems, is after all ambiguous, and non-committal. As with the other *aitia* that involve rival explanations (the tombs of Idmon and Tiphys, the lake on the Eridanos), signifier and signified are separated; but here this division allows the narrative to accommodate two mutually exclusive stories. For in the end it does not matter which story one chooses. No matter whose the sickle is, it remains true (according to the narrative) that Demeter taught reaping to the Titans on Drepane and that the Phaiakians are sprung from the blood of Ouranos.[28]

What does this peculiar combination of stories accomplish? By associating the Phaiakians with both the raw violence of the first stage of the divine succession myth and the cultural progress represented by the invention of agriculture, the narrative seems to suggest the same potential in them for opposed qualities—hostility and civility—with which the *Odyssey* endows them.[29] Not that there is any apparent danger that the Phaiakians will treat the Argonauts with anything but kindness; the risk to Jason, on the contrary, is that their king Alkinoos will be too fair.[30] Instead, I think that in the context of the *Argonautika*, the

26. The scholion on 4.982–92g seems to identify the source of the second story as Aristotle in his *Constitution of the Corcyreans*. It attributes the first story to Timaeus, whom Apollonius follows extensively, but uses in his own way, in this episode (including setting the wedding of Jason and Medea on Drepane). According to Timaeus, the castration in question may have been that of Kronos by Zeus.

27. The reference to the Phaiakians as "autochthonous" at 4.548 would also seem to suggest this. One of the scholia on 4.982–92 attributes this story of the Phaiakians' origin to Acusilaus and Alcaeus. In using it, Apollonius evidently is also alluding to Hes. *Theog.* 185, according to which the Giants (among others) sprang from the blood from Ouranos's severed genitals. Alkinoos is partly descended from Eurymedon, ruler of the Giants (*Od.* 7.56–63).

28. These are both direct narratorial statements, in contrast to the two accounts of the sickle, which are in indirect statement. For *φάτις* (what some people say) as the source of authority for the sickle's connection with Ouranos and Kronos, cf. 2.854 (*φάτις* as source for the identity of the man buried in the second tomb at Cape Acherousia).

29. See chap. 5 for a discussion of these qualities in connection with the portrayal of Aietes.

30. When the Colchians who have sailed from Colchis through the Bosporos and the Hellespont to the Adriatic arrive on Drepane, Alkinoos decides that Medea will have to go back to her father unless Jason has married her and so, in effect, replaced Aietes as her *kurios* or guardian—a characteristically Greek way of thinking about marriage.

ambivalent nature of the Phaiakians has other implications. In the first place, the combination of primitiveness and progress latent in the name Drepane and shared by implication by the Phaiakians matches the liminal position of the island, from a Greek perspective, between the Greek world and the less familiar space of the Adriatic to the north. Second, their affinities with the crude violence of the first stage of the succession myth and with the golden age abundance represented by Demeter distinguish the Phaiakians from Greeks, no matter how Hellenic their culture may seem. They are a survival from earlier stages of cosmogonic and human development. And therefore, in the third place, they are ripe for replacement. Here the precedent of Ouranos and of the succession myth that his name evokes is especially operative. Just as Ouranos was replaced by Kronos and he by his son Zeus, so the Phaiakians will be replaced on Drepane by Greek colonists from Corinth.[31]

Their dislodgement is foreshadowed in the narrative when the Colchians, in fear of returning home to Aietes after Jason has managed to retain Medea, settle among them (4.1210–16):

> αὖθι δὲ νήσῳ
> δὴν μάλα Φαιήκεσσι μετ' ἀνδράσι ναιετάασκον,
> εἰσότε Βακχιάδαι, γενεὴν Ἐφύρηθεν ἐόντες,
> ἀνέρες ἐνάσσαντο μετὰ χρόνον, οἱ δὲ περαίην
> νήσου ἔβαν· κεῖθεν δὲ Κεραύνια μέλλον Ἀμάντων
> οὔρεα Νεσταίους τε καὶ Ὧρικον εἰσαφικέσθαι.
> ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν στείχοντος ἄδην αἰῶνος ἐτύχθη.
>
> There on the island
> they [the Colchians] lived for a very long time among the Phaiakians,
> until the Bacchiads, who were by lineage from Ephyre [Corinth],
> settled [there] in after times, while they[32] went to the land opposite
> the island. And from there they would go to the Amantes'
> Keraunian Mountains and the Nestaioi and Orikon.[33]
> But these things happened after time had gone forward in abundance.

The Corinthians will not come for some years, but this passage is followed immediately by the statement that yearly sacrifices are still made to the Fates (Moirai) and the nymphs on altars that Medea established in the precinct of

31. For the more immediate relevance of the two accounts of the sickle to the story of Jason and Medea, see Dyck 1989: 465.

32. The pronoun (*οἱ*) must refer to both Colchians and Phaiakians.

33. The Nestaioi were an Illyrian people according to Pseudo-Skylax, and Eratosthenes placed them on the mainland opposite the island of Pharos, where the Parians established a colony (schol. on 4.1215). Pliny (*N.H.* 3.23) says that Orikon, on the coast near Apollonia, was founded by the Colchians and that the Nymphaion promontory in the same region was inhabited by the Amantes, whom he calls "barbari." They may be the same as the Abantes (all the manuscripts give this spelling), and if so, like Makris (discussed presently) they suggest a link between the Adriatic and Euboia, where the Abantes originated. Cf. Paus. 5.22.3–4.

Apollo Nomios,[34] as though the *Argo*'s presence on the island were a prototype for Greek colonization there.[35] The naming of the cave of Makris, in which Jason and Medea celebrated their marriage, after Medea (4.1153–55), has the same implication. Both *aitia* (note ἔτι, "still" at 4.1217 and εἰσέτι νῦν, "still now" at 4.1153) point to the future: the Corinthian settlement will fulfill the meaning of the signs now left on this island's space.

The nymph Makris, who helped purify Herakles for the murder of his children (4.540) and out of affection for whom Demeter taught the Titans agriculture (4.988–90), may also convey an oblique reference to a purported Greek colonization of Corcyra from Euboia before the Corinthians' arrival. Her full story is told in connection with the cave in which the wedding of Jason and Medea is set (4.1131–40). She was the daughter of Aristaios, who discovered honey and olive oil and was a healer, prophet, and guardian of flocks, and whose prayers prevailed on Zeus to send the Etesian winds (2.506–27). Hermes brought the infant Dionysus to her in Euboia for her to nurse, and she "wet his dry lip with honey." But when Hera, jealous of Dionysus's mother Semele, grew angry and drove her from Euboia, she fled and settled in the cave on Drepane, where she "gave boundless prosperity to the inhabitants" (*καὶ πόρεν ὄλβον ἀθέσφατον ἐνναέτῃσιν*, 4.1140)—presumably in the form of abundant crops. Her cave, as well as her connection with Demeter, associates her with the land of Drepane and with the crops that come up from beneath the soil: she is clearly a nourishing and protective figure. She represents a newcomer who becomes part of the landscape and the lore of her new home—that is, whose presence is literally naturalized. Whether or not her story actually reflects a Euboian settlement on Corcyra—it is only weakly attested[36]—Apollonius may be using Makris as a figure for that tradition in order to naturalize the presence of Greeks on this island. Along with the *aitia* discussed above, the reference would make Corinthian colonization appear as the culmination of a history that begins with the Phaiakians as the original, "autochthonous" inhabitants and includes the settlement among them of Makris (or the Euboians) and the Colchians along with the Argonauts' stop at this place.

34. Apollo as a pastoral god is appropriately associated with honors to the nymphs who helped celebrate Medea's marriage to Jason. But Nomios and Agreus were epithets not only of Apollo but of his son Aristaios as well (cf. 2.507), so that there could be a parallel here between the Adriatic and Cyrene as sites of Greek colonial activity in addition to those that will be discussed in connection with Aristaios's daughter Makris. Apollo and Aristaios were closely identified with each other (Hes. fr. 216 M-W). For other relevant passages see Livrea 1973: 216, although in his account of Aristaios Apollonius seems to draw most directly on Pindar *P.* 9. 59–65.

35. In the matter of these altars, Apollonius is again following Timaeus, except that the latter said that they were dedicated to the nymphs and the Nereids (schol. on 4.1217–19b). The substitution of Moirai for Nereids may express Apollonius's "ambivalent view" of Medea's wedding: Dyck 1989: 467.

36. The only evidence for this settlement is Plut. *Quaestiones Graecae* 11, and scholars have long debated its historicity. See the exchange between Cameron and Halliday 1926 and Cary 1926. There is still no consensus. Bakhuizen 1987: 187 and Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: III, 30 are among the skeptics. Cabanes 2008: 164 is cautiously in favor of historicity, and Kalligas 1982 supports it with flimsy arguments. Beaumont 1936: 164–65 gives stronger arguments for it. For my purposes the question is unimportant.

Makris's parentage further strengthens her association with colonization. Her father Aristaios was the son of Apollo and Cyrene (2.500–507), the eponymous nymph of the Greek colony in Libya whose future territory the Argonauts are at this point just about to visit. There is a further connection between the Adriatic and North Africa in the tripods that the Argonauts give to the Hylleans and Triton, and the Hylleans in fact migrated north from Drepane. In this way the text incorporates Corcyra into the far-flung network of Greek colonies.

These adumbrations of Greek colonization on Corcyra should be put together with two islands that the Argonauts pass earlier on their interrupted voyage southward in the Adriatic, whose names evoke Drepane. Black Corcyra, site of an actual Greek colony, is named after the nymph Corcyra, daughter of the river Asopos, whom Poseidon carried away out of love and settled "far from the land of Phleious" (4.566–71). She will later give her name to Drepane when the Greeks colonize it, and her story, involving displacement from the Greek mainland toward the west, is another mythic prototype for colonial movement. One of the Argonauts is connected with her: Phleias, from Phliasia (later Phleias or Phleious; Apollonius uses the Homeric name Araithyreia), the son of Dionysos who lives near the sources of the Asopos (1.115–17). Next they pass the island of Melite (4.572), whose name at least suggests the nymph on Drepane, the mother of Hyllos by Herakles (4.538–39),[37] although the text does not specify what connection, if any, there is. The similarity of names could just be coincidence, but Melite is preceded and (but for Kerossos) followed by islands named after nymphs: Black Corcyra and Nymphaie, home of Kalypso.

The narrative mentions other examples of movement into and around the Adriatic region. There is the ubiquitous Herakles, who provides in this case an ominous example for Jason. Like him, Jason will have to travel westwards to be purified of murder by a woman, soon after his encounter with the Hylleans, who are named after Herakles' son. Hyllos's migration fits with his father's story. When he reached maturity, he did not want to live in Drepane under the authority of Nausithoos, Alkinoos's father, and so, with Nausithoos's help, he collected some Phaiakians and settled in the present territory of the Hylleans. In this story we have a model of migration from Greece and the attempt by the newcomer—Herakles—to harmonize his presence among the indigenous inhabitants, an assimilation represented symbolically by marriage to a local girl, who could be either a princess or, as here, a personification of some feature of the landscape. It is this pattern that the story of Jason and Medea plays upon and distorts. When tensions over who is to have authority remain, they are resolved in a cooperative resettlement of part of the population. With a fresh beginning in a new land, where Hyllos is the acknowledged leader from the start, conflicts over control are less likely to arise.

37. She is also, it seems, the daughter of the river god Aigaios and eponym of the Corcyrean mountain where the river had its source (Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: III, 31.

Other immigrants to the area are Kadmos, founder and king of Thebes, and his wife Harmonia, near whose tomb beside the Illyrikos river some of Apsyrtos's followers settle (4.516–18). Having left Thebes in the wake of their grandson Pentheus's gory death, they settled among the Enkhelees or "Eel People" and became their rulers, at some point, according to some versions of the story, metamorphosing into snakes.[38] Here, it would seem, is another model of colonial diffusion. Kadmos and Harmonia are Greek émigrés who become rulers of an indigenous people and whose tomb is then venerated, in what may be the Hellenization of a local cult. Their migration might also be a mythic reflection of movements along well-established routes from Greece to the Adriatic for purposes of trade as well as settlement.[39] If so, their story perhaps mirrors the Greeks' experience of this new place as foreign and exotic (the Eel People) and of the fluidity of identity as a result of contact with others (the transformation into serpents).

Thus, in Apollonius's depiction of it, the Adriatic is indeed the scene of colonization, but mostly centered on Corcyra in its southern part, with a few colonies north of Corcyra indirectly acknowledged by references to the islands on which they were founded (Black Corcyra, Issa) and the important Greek cities of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia ignored. The Hylleans are a special case since they represent colonization on the mainland to the far north from Corcyra in its pre-Greek stage. Although named after Hyllos they are descended from the Phaiakian colonists, and for the Argonauts they seem to count as an indigenous people whose firm possession of their land is guaranteed from now on by the tripod that their visitors give them. Only in part, then, is the Adriatic a spatial system composed of Greek colonial sites. In much of it, there are non-Greek tribes who are unaffected by the Greek visitors, and through their experiences and through the story of earlier migrants to this region, the text implies various modes for Greek relations with them exclusive of colonization. For the Argonauts these range from hostility (the tribes who side with the Colchians) to cooperative exchange (the Hylleans). The other stories of newcomers (Kadmos and Harmonia, Makris, the nymph Corcyra) show various ways of settling and becoming part of the new environment without affecting the essential cultural identity of local people except for changes in cults. But it is not only Greeks who

38. Apollonius does not mention this element of the story, but it was surely familiar to his readers from Eur. *Bacch.* 1330–39, and they could hardly have failed to think of it. On the migration of Kadmos and Harmonia see Vian 1963: 124–33; Kos 1993 (with thorough discussion of the Enkhelees and emphasis on possible reflections in the story of Bronze Age contacts between the Aegean and Adriatic regions); Beaumont 1936: 196–97; Cabanes 2008: 159–61. The Enkhelees are well attested in ancient sources. It would be good to know the origin of their name, which is Greek. Does it come from their proximity to Lake Lychnitis, as Hammond 1966: 247 suggests? Cf. Wilkes 1992: 98–99. Is it a Greek corruption of an Illyrian name? In any case, it might well reflect Greek feelings about this strange place and its people. There was a tradition (about which Apollonius is silent) that the Enkhelees infested Greece and attacked Delphi, reversing Kadmos's migration and, according to Euripides, led by him (Hdt. 9.43; Eur. *Bacch.* 1333–38).

39. Vian 1963: 133; Kos 1993:128–30.

come to the Adriatic; Colchians also do, and they produce changes in its spatial configuration.[40] Some, like the Apsyrtides Islands on which they settle, preserve the name of their murdered leader. Others build a town among the Enkhelees, the very people who received Kadmos and Harmonia. Corcyra's destiny as the site of a major Greek colony is important to the poem's construction of space. But the Adriatic seems even more significantly a zone of cultural contact, an area characterized by the movement of people. This is in keeping with the Greek practice of trade along its length beyond the colonized areas, and with its place in the Greek imagination as the threshold of the mysterious beyond. Within the poem, accordingly, the Adriatic represents another limit to the Greek construction of space. On this margin, through various stories of contact and interaction, the distinction between Greek and other is implied, but at the same time its reality is questioned and cultural identity appears provisional.

The Western Mediterranean

Despite the reference to "countless [or prominent] signs of the ship Argo" (Ἀργώης περιώσια σήματα νηὸς) in the seas beyond the Adriatic to the west (4.552–56, discussed in chap. 2), the odd fact is that in the part of the poem that is inaugurated in this way Apollonius is remarkably sparing in mentioning such signs.

We can still speak of a production of space in this segment of the *Argo*'s journey, after a fashion. The Argonauts do leave a few strategically placed signs that point to the narrative of their voyage. As we have seen, the institution of the cult of the Dioskouroi is connected with the Stoikhades Islands, their first stop after they emerge from the Rhodanos River. Although this *aition* is not closely tied to a particular place and hence is not a strong spatial marker, when they make their next landing, on the island of Aithalie (Elba) there occurs another *aition* very much in the usual style (4.654–58). They amuse themselves with games and wipe off their sweat with stones, which permanently take on the color of their skin or sweat (or so it seems: the text is disrupted here). The stones they used for discuses and some other vestiges (τρύχεα is mystifying) are in the place still called "Harbor of *Argo*" (λιμὴν Ἀργῴος). But the name "Harbor of *Argo*" (Ἀργῷος λιμήν) is also conferred on the port at which they put in at the very end of the Libyan episode after they have reached the sea and are about to set sail for Greece and where they leave σήματα (*sêmata*, "signs") of the ship (4.1620). These two harbors of the same name enclose both the

40. It may be significant, as Stephens 2008: 104–5 suggests, that Alexander's great-grandmother came from Illyria and his mother from Epirus, so that his ancestry could appear spatially associated with the (originally Egyptian) Colchians. The Greek presence in Egypt would then be naturalized as having something of the character of a return. This would be in keeping with the depiction of the Adriatic region as a liminal space.

narrative of the Argonauts' voyage from the Sardinian Sea to Libya and the space they traverse, and give to both shape and definition.[41] This entire arc eastward from the voyage's most westerly point is to be seen as a whole, implicitly constructed by its end points as a space with Greek meanings.

Within this frame there is another one. When the Argonauts are blown off course as they almost reach Drepane, their journey describes a virtually complete loop westward until they finally do arrive at that island, and there is a symmetry between the winds Hera sends to force them up the Eridanos River and the unexplained winds that drive them off course to Libya. The whole voyage west of the Adriatic is thus motivated by Jason's and Medea's guilt for the murder of Apsyrtos and their need to seek purification from Kirke. In addition, their itinerary takes them north and inland (see chap. 6), outside space that can be understood or shaped by Greek conceptual and cultural categories. Thus two very different conceptions of space are juxtaposed: one (in Libya) that implies its appropriation to Greek understandings and another that complicates any such construction by its basis in violence and through an exploration of the limits on a Greek production of space. This is a duality—a simultaneous assertion of spatial control and an acknowledgement of its limits—that we have observed often by now in various aspects of the *Argonautika*'s narrative, but we have not seen it before on such a large scale.

Within the area demarcated by Aithalie and Libya, however—let alone the circle that begins near and ends at Drepane—space is left essentially untouched. As with the inland rivers and the Chalybes and others in the eastern part of the Black Sea coast, the Argonauts have almost no contact with the landscape or its inhabitants, but they pass by, observing from a distance. They leave no permanent monuments of their presence that the narrative could mark with *aitia*. Except for their stop with Kirke, they are tourists in this area until they get to Drepane. For them, this unremarkable passage is probably just as well. By Apollonius's time, the places on their route had been identified with various events of Odysseus's wanderings: Kirke's home on the western Italian coast; the Sirens, perhaps off Sorrento on the same coast;[42] Skylla and Kharybdis, which the Argonauts avoid, on either side of the Strait of Messina; the Planktai, which they pass, perhaps in the Lipari Islands or in the middle of the strait;[43]

41. Cf. Harder 1994: 26–27.

42. See Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: III, 178–79.

43. On the uncertainty see Knight 1995: 212. Vian in Vian and Delage 2002: III, 42–46 argues for the Strait of Messina. The Lipari Islands would seem to fit the description of the Planktai better, but in that case, since they are an alternative to Skylla and Kharybdis, the Argonauts would sail around the west end of Sicily rather than through the Strait of Messina (the Cattle of the Sun then would be located somewhere on the south coast of Sicily or near Cape Pachynus at the island's southeast corner). That too has its attractions; the two routes would be true alternatives. But because Hephaistos is a spectator of the passage through the Planktai (4.956–58), if his forge is to be associated with Mount Aetna, Vian's suggestion would have to be right. Still, the only information we are given about the forge's location is that it is "in the wide recess of Plankte Island" (3.42)—that is, it is where the Planktai are! The geographical imprecision of the narrative in this part of the poem, in contrast to the narrative of the Black Sea voyage, is remarkable.

and Thrinakia and the Cattle of the Sun, somewhere on the coast of Sicily south of the strait. To these we should add Aiolos's home, probably one of the Lipari Islands, and of course Drepane and Nymphaie in the Adriatic. The succession of these places follows the same order as Odysseus's encounters with them in the *Odyssey*, and the Argonauts' passage by them is drawn out from the famous reference in that poem to the "famous *Argo*" having sailed through the Planktai (*Od.* 12.70). The Argonauts are sightseers on Odysseus's route before the fact, and Apollonius marks his poem's relation to Homeric epic as a later text that narrates a prior stage in heroic saga.[44]

The area constructed from this succession of places is thus defined as a Homeric space. It had, of course, to be left intact as the scene of Odysseus's future trials. At the same time, Sicily and southern Italy had been colonized by the Greeks since the eighth century BCE, and in the cities they founded Greek culture had flourished brilliantly for centuries and was still doing so in Apollonius's time. None of his contemporaries can have read this part of the poem without his or her perceptions being shaped by an awareness of the rich history that from the Argonauts' perspective was yet to come. Apollonius could have included all manner of references to future colonization, as he did with Drepane, not to speak of other sites on the *Argo*'s route; but he did not. The omission is glaring, and significant. This is a case of the dog that did not bark in the night, and it has implications for the poem's production of space.

To locate the sites of Odysseus's wanderings, as Apollonius's predecessors had done, was to demystify and rationalize a space felt as alien and pre-civilized in the *Odyssey*. Identifying each place with a known landmark meant gaining a cognitive mastery over that space by making it possible to orient oneself with reference to other landmarks and to the cardinal directions, in complete contrast to Odysseus's disorientation on Kirke's shores (*Od.* 12.190–92):

> *ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γὰρ ἴδμεν ὅπῃ ζόφος οὐδ' ὅπῃ ἠώς,*
> *οὐδ' ὅπῃ ἠέλιος φαεσίμβροτος εἶσ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν*
> *οὐδ' ὅπῃ ἀννεῖται.*
>
> Friends, we do not know where dusk is or where the dawn
> nor where the sun that shines upon mortals goes beneath the earth
> or where it rises.

Apollonius is precise about the location of Drepane (though not of Nymphaie), but for the western area he gives only enough indications to make it clear that his Argonauts are passing through the general region that others had identified as that of Odysseus's voyage. He is vague about the exact location of each

44. Knight 1995: 152–60 gives an excellent discussion of the relation of the Argonauts' route to that of Odysseus and of ancient attempts to locate the various places geographically.

incident, although it is possible for a reader to assign one to each place by using knowledge external to the poem.[45] But within the narrative, Apollonius removes these places from contemporary notions of geography. In this way, and because the Argonauts do have direct experience (if only visual) of them and of the dangerous beings who wait there, he re-mythologizes this space. On the other hand, the narrative in this part of the poem remains, in Lefebvre's terms, a representation of space; there are no spaces of representation here.

To see the difference, consider the contrast between the passage through the Planktai and the earlier navigation of the Bosporos.[46] There, even though Athena gave them the final push, the Argonauts had an agonizing struggle against the current and the waves stirred up by the movement of the Kyanean Rocks, and their lives were gravely in peril. From that time on, this place and the rocks now rooted and motionless would signify their heroic achievement in passing through unharmed. But the Nereids effortlessly toss a passive *Argo* through the Planktai, like girls at the seashore (such as Nausikaa) playing with a ball (4.948–50). The ship's passage will, to be sure, be remembered in the *Odyssey* and commemorated after a fashion. But that is not the same thing as the place itself signifying this narrative. And where are the Planktai anyway? Given their name, "Wandering Rocks," they are by definition placeless.

Hera engineers their safe passage, and the divine synoptic perspective furnishes an important mode of presenting space from Kirke's Aiaia through the Planktai. Hera's intervention through Iris and Thetis occurs by means of a series of divine travels that cover huge distances swiftly, and these contrast sharply in their speed and effortlessness with the *Argo*'s long and laborious journey in the rest of the poem. Iris goes first to the depths of the Aegean to summon Thetis to Hera, and then to Hephaistos and Aiolos in the west to convey Hera's commands—errands that she carries out in just a few lines (4.770–78). Then, having received her orders from Hera, Thetis repeats essentially the same journey, first from Mount Olympos to the floor of the Aegean, where she sends her sister Nereids to the west; next, she goes herself to Aiaia, to appear to Peleus and stir the Argonauts into setting sail. Here the text stresses both the length of the trip (δολιχήν τε καὶ ἄσπετον οἶμον, 4.838) and the immense speed with which she accomplishes it, faster than a flash of light or a sunbeam (ὠκυτέρη ἀμαρύγματος ἠὲ βολάων / ἠελίου, 4.847–49). As with other divine travels, including Aietes' journey in Helios's chariot, only the end points matter, and the intervening space is treated as though it were empty. In addition, the four Empedoclean elements structure the space of this part of the *Argo*'s voyage more prominently than the Argonauts' own experience does.

45. As Knight 1995: 156 says, the geographical imprecision "allows [Apollonius] to incorporate the theories of his contemporaries without turning the poem into a simple versification of their ideas; realistic geography is there for those who look for it, but is not commented on."

46. Cf. Byre 1997: 112 and the further bibliography cited there.

Earth is represented by Drepane, with its associations with Demeter, and possibly also by Aiaia, whose name recalls a Greek word for "earth" (*αἶα*) and where hybrid animals are found that resemble those that earth first bore from the primeval slime according to Empedocles (4.672–81); thus the beginning and end of this segment of the journey correspond. Then Thetis represents water, Aiolos and his winds air, and Hephaistos's forge fire. This is a cosmological, not a human, way of structuring space, and it matches the synoptic perspective implied by the goddesses' travels.

Only in one episode, that of the Sirens, do the Argonauts interact at all with any of the beings they pass, and then only in a limited way. They make no real contact with the Sirens; what occurs is a variant of the traditional singing contest, at a distance. There is, however, some significance to what does happen. As the Argonauts pass the Sirens' island and hear their song, they prepare to land—a mistake that, we know from the *Odyssey*, would be fatal for them. But Orpheus picks up his lyre, makes the Argonauts' ears ring with his own strains, and reduces the Sirens' song to indistinct noise. The west wind and a sea-swell following from the stern thrust the *Argo* on its way. Only one Argonaut is lost: infatuated with the Sirens' song, Boutes leaps overboard and starts swimming for the island. But Aphrodite takes pity on him, snatches him up from the waves, and deposits him on the promontory of Lilybaion, where he is to live near her own shrine at Eryx.

If Orpheus drowns out the Sirens' singing for the Argonauts, he does so for the reader as well. In pointed contrast to the *Odyssey*'s narrative, we are never told the words or the content of their song. Instead, it is the heroines in the Libyan desert who speak words resembling part of the Homeric Sirens' song (chap. 4). We are told nothing of Orpheus's song either, except that it is "smooth-flowing" (if that is what *ἐυτροχάλοιο μέλος . . . ἀοιδῆς* at 4.907 means);[47] for the rest, the emphasis is on the loud sounds he sends forth. Since the beginning of the poem, however, his singing has been identified as a force for spatial and social order. Therefore, just as the Argonauts in the Kyzikos episode, at Orpheus's command, perform a ritual dance in honor of the Great Mother and beat their shields to drown out the Doliones' ill-omened cries of lamentation for their king (1.1134–38), so here Orpheus suppresses the Sirens' song, which threatens loss of homecoming, with the singing that we have come to understand as orderly and that promotes the cohesion of cultural institutions and rituals rather than stranding men on a deserted island. Boutes' leap into the sea is thus a rejection of human community. And it is consistent with this suggestion that as the Argonauts sail away, the Sirens "sent forth an

47. On the probable allusion in *ἐυτροχάλοιο* to the disc of wax (*τροχόν* that Odysseus uses to block the Sirens' song from his companions' ears (*Od.* 12.173), see Knight 1995: 202. Orpheus's song takes over the function of the wax; but the one man who hears the song is not the leader of the expedition, as in Homer, but Boutes, who leaps into the water and is lost to his shipmates.

inarticulate voice" (*ταὶ δ' ἄκριτον ἴεσαν αὐδήν*, 4.911). The literal meaning is no doubt that their words could not be understood over Orpheus's singing.[48] But there is also a suggestion that their song is just meaningless noise because it is not divided into discrete words. The adjective translated "inarticulate" (*ἄκριτον*) can mean "endless" or "indistinct";[49] but Odysseus addresses Thersites as *ἀκριτόμυθε*, "you of disruptive speech," and several other times in Homer *ἄκριτος* refers to disorderly or pointless talk, such as inconclusive debate or quarrels.[50]

In addition, the episode of the Sirens seems to allude to a famous passage in Plato's *Phaedrus* (258e–59b), in which Socrates urges Phaedrus to engage in conversation rather than simply to rest amid their bucolic surroundings:

> It seems to me that the cicadas, singing above our heads and conversing with one another as they do in the heat, look down on us. So if they should see us behaving at mid-day as the common people do, not conversing but drowsing and falling under their enchantment through intellectual laziness, they would rightly mock us, thinking that some slaves had come to a resting-place in their presence and were sleeping like lambs spending mid-day around a spring. But if they see us conversing and sailing past them unenchanted as if past the Sirens, they would likely give us in admiration the gift that they have from the gods to give men.[51]

Engaging in dialogue between themselves is to save Socrates and Phaedrus from lapsing into torpor, bewitched by the cicadas' song, as Odysseus, unlike most other passersby, sailed past the Sirens without succumbing to their enchantment. But unlike Odysseus tied to the mast of his ship, they will resist the spell not by being passively restrained but by actively engaging in an intellectual pursuit that will make them impervious to the sensuous attraction of the cicadas' Siren-song.[52] In the same way, the Argonauts are protected from the

48. Cf. Fränkel 1968: 133–34, who also connects (but draws a distinction between) the Kyzikos and Sirens episodes.

49. See Livrea 1973: 265.

50. Odysseus to Thersites: *Il.* 2.246. The compound adjective is used of dreams that are hard to interpret at *Od.* 19.560. Cf. *Od.* 8.505; *Il.* 14.205, 304, where "endless" would suit the context, but "inconclusive" or "futile" amounts to almost the same thing.

51. *καὶ ἅμα μοι δοκοῦσιν ὡς ἐν τῷ πνίγει ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἡμῶν οἱ τέττιγες ᾄδοντες καὶ ἀλλήλοις διαλεγόμενοι καθορᾶν καὶ ἡμᾶς. εἰ οὖν ἴδοιεν καὶ νὼ καθάπερ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ μὴ διαλεγομένους ἀλλὰ νυστάζοντας καὶ κηλουμένους ὑφ' αὑτῶν δι' ἀργίαν τῆς διανοίας, δικαίως ἂν καταγελῷεν, ἡγούμενοι ἀνδράποδ' ἄττα σφίσιν ἐλθόντα εἰς τὸ καταγώγιον ὥσπερ προβάτια μεσημβριάζοντα περὶ τὴν κρήνην εὕδειν· ἐὰν δὲ ὁρῶσι διαλεγομένους καὶ παραπλέοντάς σφας ὥσπερ Σειρῆνας ἀκηλήτους, ὦ γέρας παρὰ θεῶν ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώποις διδόναι, τάχ' ἂν δοῖεν ἀγασθέντες.*

52. Cf. Montiglio 2005: 178–79. But I would not agree with her statement that "philosophy is itself a Sirens' song." It seems to me an antidote to that song, just as Plato consistently opposes philosophy and poetry. For Ferrari (1987: 25–34), the passage concerns the relation between foreground and background, the explicit and the inexplicit. This would be a meaning specific to the context within the *Phaedrus*, not one that would carry over to the *Argonautika*, as far as I can see.

Sirens' destructive song by a sound that has, presumably, a better claim on their attention. The parallel suggests that more is involved here than a contest to see who can sing more loudly and drown out the other. Apollonius changes the Platonic opposition between philosophical dialogue and song to one between two kinds of song, but the qualitative antithesis is similar: between an activity that is life-sustaining because it allows one to live with attention to the truth of things, and the destructive allure of a merely sweet sound.[53] Apollonius opposes a song of cultural and cosmic order to a pleasurable song that has been stripped of its Homeric claim to comprehensive knowledge.[54]

If the encounter with the Sirens represents, in this implicit way, the triumph of (Greek) civilized order over pre-civilized disorder, especially by contrast with Odysseus's more passive way of getting by these singers, we can read the episode as the assertion of rationality in the face of untamed space. But again we have to be aware of limits. Orpheus's triumph has no lasting effect, and the Sirens are not affected by their defeat. Their island remains unchanged to threaten Odysseus and his crew. The space they inhabit is not integrated into any larger spatial system—at least not one that is humanly defined.

The Sirens are not, then, really an exception. The whole area of southern Italy and Sicily remains, despite the *Argo*'s voyage through it, sealed off from human culture and human history, the fantasy land that it will be when Odysseus wanders in it and that it will remain after he leaves. In the very area that was decisively appropriated as Greek space through colonization, Apollonius ignores all that history. As a consequence, it appears from his narrative that not only on the edges of the area outlined by the *Argo*'s voyage but also within it there are pockets of space impervious to human, and therefore Greek, cultural definition. The acknowledgement of unmastered space, here and elsewhere in the poem, sets bounds to what could have been a confidently Greek-centered view of the world. In the final chapter, I explore the implications of this mixture of Hellenic self-assertion and its significant qualification within the context of the *Argonautika*'s production in Alexandria.

53. Boutes then would correspond to the men described by Socrates at *Phaedrus* 259 b-c who lived at the time of the Muses' birth and were so struck out of their wits by pleasure at the newborn goddesses' song that they neglected food and drink and imperceptibly killed themselves.

54. These considerations make me hesitant to agree with Asper's interesting reading of Orpheus's defeat of the Sirens as Apollonius's implicit boast of superiority to Homer (2008: 177–78).

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8

Conclusion

Alexandria, Poetry, and Space

Space in the *Argonautika*: A Summary

In a wonderful passage of her book *For Space*, Doreen Massey describes the spatial implications of her commute to work. Here is part of it:

> On the way between London and Milton Keynes we go through Berkhamsted. Right by the station stand the remains of a Norman castle: the motte and bailey and the moats around them still clearly defined, the grey stone walls now fallen and discontinuous, with the air of old grey teeth. We know then that the 'presentness' of the horizontality of space is a product of a multitude of histories whose resonances are still there, if we would but see them, and which sometimes catch us with full force unawares.
>
> However, it is not just buried histories at issue here, but histories still being made, now. . . .[1]

We do not merely travel across space, she continues. Even in modest ways we alter it. Lives have gone forward in the place we left, and it has changed. At our destination the trajectory of our lives will link up with the pasts and presents of various other people, and that place too will change at the same time as our encounters help shape us. During the journey the people and buildings we see, even the trees, impinge on us

1. Massey 2005: 117–18

even if from a distance, and we intervene on histories in the making: "That field of yellow oil-seed flower, product of fertilizer and European subsidy, is a moment—significant but passing—in a chain of industrialized agricultural production."[2]

Massey's understanding of space as convergence, as the temporal process of junction and disjunction of individual stories, and as imbued with chronological and narrative depth as opposed to composing a horizontal surface to be simply traversed, captures the experience of space that Apollonius helps us to imagine in the *Argonautika*. Consider again, for example, the catalogue of Argonauts in book 1. In its methodical geographical progress it constructs Greece as a significant space, but it does so also by telling the individual Argonauts' stories, which are linked with and give meaning to their places of origin. Each place is the locus of one or several heroes' network of relationships, principally with parents and kin, which gives each of them his social identity. These places, as the catalogue interrelates them, construct Greece as a space, but that also means that the Argonauts' stories collectively produce this space as they are produced by it. They provide a highly differentiated and vividly local characterization of Greece and of Greekness.

The life trajectories of these Argonauts converge when they gather at Iolkos, which becomes the place of origin, and the ultimate destination, of their voyage in quest of the Golden Fleece. As a place, Iolkos thus changes. From now on it will be associated with this expedition, one of the great musters of heroes in the Greek tradition and therefore an important crossing point of that tradition's sagas. By Apollonius's time, it had had this significance for centuries already, but he shows us the process of its evolution. Within the poem, Iolkos becomes invested with the nostalgia for Hellas and the yearning for homecoming (*nostos*) that permeate the narrative. It stands by synecdoche for the Greece that was constructed in the catalogue, just as the *Argo* does, that heterotopic piece of Greek space.

The *Argo*'s voyage comprises a series of encounters with others in the places they inhabit. The Argonauts' story intersects with theirs and, often, changes occur in those places with a redirection of the interacting stories. Sometimes the encounters are peaceful and productive, sometimes conflictual, and sometimes a mixture. Sometimes the Argonauts' coming benefits the people they meet; at others, it is disastrous for them, and in still other cases the effects are ambivalent. In many places, the Argonauts' actions are exemplary for future ages, and the narrative of those actions, enshrined in landmarks, preserves the memory of changes they have produced there. In such cases, the intertwined stories of Greeks and others are continued past the chronological limits of the narrative into the history of colonization and down to the time of narration. The changes commemorated by the *aitia*, however, are not always

2. Massey 2005: 119.

the stuff of positive memories, as in the killings of Kyzikos and Apsyrtos. At the other end of the spectrum are episodes in which the Argonauts have no effect on those whom they encounter or on the places they pass, where they leave no traces. These places fall outside the Greek-centered space constructed by the poem.

The poem offers predominantly a Greek version of space, organized around mainland Greece in a demonstration of "the prestige of the center" (chap. 1). The *Argo*'s voyage organizes the places it visits into a spatial system around, and with reference to, that center. Even though the poem appears to give a richly detailed series of places, it seems that various parts of this itinerary were the result of a process of abstraction and simplification that ignored or discarded local traditions of the Argonauts' presence at many places.[3] This selectivity points to the itinerary as a construct, a representation of space, even though the narrative may give us a sense of completeness as we read. Such abstractions of space are, as Lefebvre shows, intimately related to power.[4] From this point of view, the story told by the *Argonautika* is a mythic analogue of Alexander's conquests and of the early Ptolemies' imperial ambitions. If such correspondences have occurred to many modern scholars, one can only imagine how vivid they must have been to a reader in the third century BCE.

There is, in addition, a tendency for the stories of others to matter mainly insofar as they impinge on that of the Argonauts and perhaps are changed by it. In many, although not all, cases, especially when the Argonauts stop at sites of future Greek colonies, it seems as if the places and their inhabitants only fully enter history with the arrival of the *Argo* and the colonial contacts it portends. Here once again the *aitia* play a crucial role with the teleological history they suggest that leads not only to colonization but also to Alexander and the Ptolemies. So the poem describes a Greek construction of time as well as of space, or of "time-space." Among possible examples we might think of King Kyzikos, whose background and ethnic identity are not mentioned, although earlier writers gave accounts of them, and whose spatial perspective is so limited that he is unable to describe the rest of the Propontis. The Argonauts' coming integrates Kyzikos the place into a larger spatial system and opens it to history in the form of a colonial future. Or there is Lykos at Cape Acherousia, whose story as the poem tells it centers on earlier exploits of Herakles, and who collaborates in the construction of colonial relations between his people, the Mariandynoi, and the Greeks when he promises to erect a shrine to the Dioskouroi.

At the same time, cutting across the circularity of the space defined by the *Argo*'s voyage that is centered on mainland Greece is a linear progression that points toward North Africa: Lemnos, Thera, and the Greek colonial zone

3. Placido 1996. For an example of a legend ignored by Apollonius, see J. Bérard 1957: 391–401.
4. Lefebvre 1991; this is also the emphasis of Rubio 1992.

adjacent to the Syrtis. Just as Lemnos provides a point of transition from the Aegean Sea and Greek culture to more alien spaces, the future site of Thera, with Anaphe, is transitional in the opposite direction, to the Libyan desert, where Apollonius represents the process of spatial production and the bringing of order out of chaos. Despite the circularity of the framing voyage, time and spatial movement are directed toward a goal: the presence of Greeks in archaic and classical Cyrene, and by an easy extension in Ptolemaic Alexandria, which thus takes on the aura of inevitability. This movement through time, from the age of heroes to the third century BCE, and through space, from Lemnos to North Africa, also relates Alexandria to the traditional origins and physical centers of Greek culture and offers Greeks there a sense of being in place that offsets their condition of displacement, and a core of Hellenic identity to counter any feelings of estrangement.[5]

So far, the *Argonautika* would seem to bear out Laclau's position, discussed by Massey, that "spatialization is equivalent to hegemonisation: the production of an ideological closure, a picture of the essentially dislocated world as somehow coherent."[6] But the poem is far more complex than that. This appropriative, hegemonic construction of space *as Greek* is one major impulse in the poem, but there are other impulses that bring it into question, qualify it, and even work against it. The result is a picture of the world that to some important extent coheres spatially and can be mastered cognitively and, to the extent that knowledge implies power, politically, but in which there are also considerable "dislocations." The poem conveys a mixture of confident spatial control and an undercutting of that confidence. The text thus holds in tension a number of contradictory attitudes and feelings about the world and Greek culture's relation to it, but that tension creates a balance of conflicting forces. This complexity is no small part of Apollonius's poetic achievement. It also, as I shall be arguing for much of the rest of this chapter, has a great deal to do with the situation of Greeks living in Egypt.

First, let us review the manifestations of these contrary impulses in the text, as we have noticed them in the preceding chapters. Because space is treated differently in different segments of the voyage, we should consider them in order.

The route through the Propontis and along the western half of the southern Black Sea coast traverses an area that was the scene of important Greek colonial activity in historical times, and the control of space seems most

5. My argument here converges with that of Stephens 2008, although I would not agree that aside from Cyrene the *Argonautika* lacks a center.

6. Massey 2005: 25. She says (26) that the proposition that "representation necessarily fixes, and therefore deadens and detracts from, the flow of life" is one that she "would not entirely dispute." Less cautiously, I would claim that the *Argonautika* stands, at least in very great part, as a major counter-example. Surely not all representation has this effect. If it did, then to the extent that narrative is a form of representation one would have to be prepared to say that it is the nature of narrative to deaden the flow of life.

confident in this part of the poem (book 1 and much of book 2). Here the standard Greek values are on display: for example, *homonoia* or cooperation (the island of Thynias), the conquest of brute strength by Greek skill and intelligence (the Amykos episode), a successful episode of hospitality (Cape Acherousia, with a cooperative local ruler who is hardly distinguishable from the Greeks save for his military powerlessness and who is easily assimilated to them), and the successful passage of a natural ordeal (the Bosporos) with the aid of a goddess, Athena. But as we saw, that spatial control weakens the farther east the Argonauts go, until they pass, without any contact, a series of peoples who are described, in Herodotean fashion, as inverting Greek norms: Amazons, Chalybes, Tibarenoi, and Mossynoikoi. In this part of the journey, then, just when the Argonauts have no effect on the places they pass and there is no question of a Greek structuring of space, the—surely defensive—response to this alien territory is to assert Greek cultural values by diametrically opposing them to the other cultures' practices.

Even earlier, the production of Kyzikos as a Greek colonial space-to-be has involved inscribing the land with signs that together evoke a decidedly ambivalent narrative composed of anticipations of Greek settlement and reminders of Kyzikos's killing and Kleite's suicide. And even before, in their last stop in Greece proper, the Argonauts have been sidetracked by the Lemnian women, who with their violent inversion of the gender hierarchy anticipate the Amazons, while Hypsipyle anticipates the "barbarian" Medea. In these ways, even as a colonial space is structured, the relation between Greek and non-Greek is, at the very least, opened to question. In these contradictory perspectives we observe two aspects of the colonial experience: a perception of absolute difference resulting in a strong assertion of identity, and a blurring of boundaries leading to a recognition of the complexity of the relation between self and other. This duality might well have been familiar and especially meaningful to Apollonius's first readers, because it may have characterized their own experience of settling among, in order to dominate, a people with its own strongly marked cultural traditions. Colonization, in other words, may serve (despite obvious differences) as a paradigm for the situation of the Greek immigrants in Egypt.

Colchis is a similar mixture of the familiar and the strange, though it is configured in a more complex way; because according to Herodotus the Colchians were descendants of Egyptians, the implied analogy with Ptolemaic Egypt continues. Here the Argonauts are on the Phasis River, inland from the coast and so, by traditional Greek thinking, in an area where familiar categories are at risk, and space resists the Greeks' own definitions. The *Argo* is of course still Greek space, and the Argonauts have their traditionally epic assemblies beside it; but it is a refuge in an alien environment where their position is precarious.

They have come into an already organized space where they are only sojourners. On one side of the river is the plain of Ares, a place of raw superhuman

power that only Helios's son Aietes can confront, or that Jason can face only when fortified by Medea's potion. North of the river is the place of a Colchian culture that is at once familiar and strange. There is a city with an imposing king's house, a king who understands the rules of hospitality, and its own cult focused on a temple. From the general description, this could be a Greek city. But this city's patron goddess is not Artemis, who is worshiped in Iolkos, but Artemis's chthonic avatar Hekate. Its burial customs are notably non-Greek, and so were those of the Egyptians, as Herodotus's detailed description of embalming and mummification makes clear (2.86–90). Aietes is both an Alkinoos figure and a ferocious "barbarian" (or angry god?), Medea is at once like a vulnerable Greek girl approaching marriage and an implacable witch, and the Phrixids are of mixed Greek and Colchian birth. On the Greek side, although much is made of the distance between Colchis and Thessaly ("here" as opposed to "there"), the situation Jason has left behind in Iolkos, with its hostile king who imposes an ordeal that he thinks Jason cannot survive, is very like the one he faces at this extremity of the earth. And Jason's manipulations of Medea hardly do credit to Greek values, especially as they look ahead to his treatment of her in Corinth and recall Euripides' play. Once again ethnic and cultural differences are blurred; Greek and non-Greek stand in a dialectical rather than oppositional relation to each other. Latent in the myth, as Skytobrachion's version shows, is the triumph of Greek craft over barbarian brawn, with the recovery of a Greek treasure and the "rescue" of a girl who is ethically and culturally like the Greeks. The *Argonautika* makes this reading available (it is, after all, prepared for by the Amykos episode) but complicates it and questions it at the same time by pointing toward more complex relations between Greeks and others.

Different stories cross in Colchis, to be sure, and for all their inability to appropriate this other space, the Argonauts do change it. But the changes are all negative, involving loss: of the fleece, of Medea, of the murdered Apsyrtos, and of the two groups of Colchians who settle in the Adriatic after their pursuit of the Argonauts fails. We could say that Aietes *qua* ogre deserves these defeats, but the Argonauts' victories do not add up to a straightforward vindication of Greek cultural or moral superiority. Medea's betrayal of her parents would be unambiguously condemned in a Greek girl at home in a culture that placed heavy emphasis on preserving female chastity and hierarchies of age and gender within the family. Apsyrtos's murder speaks for itself. And the text has carefully suggested that Jason has no particular right to the Golden Fleece.

The two inland river journeys on the homeward voyage also take the Argonauts to regions where there is no possibility of structuring space or having any effect on it. There is only one contact with any local people, one fleeting intersection of trajectories: when farmers along the Istros River mistake the *Argo* for a sea monster traveling inland. This moment is eloquent of geographical and cultural difference, but it only emphasizes how this vast expanse of Europe, from the mouth of the Danube to Switzerland in today's terms, is beyond the

Greeks' command of space, and how there are peoples going about their lives and organizing them in accordance with their own very different cultural codes without knowing—or caring—about the Greeks. From the perspective of these regions, Greece can hardly be at the center. So the poem acknowledges, in another way, the limits on the production of space by this voyage.

With the interlude in the Adriatic Sea, we are back in what will be at least in part Greek colonial space again. But here we are given a sharper sense than before of the movement of people—from Greece and Colchis to this region and from place to place within it. This process of displacement and settlement is a continuing one: the Argonauts' Colchian pursuers settle in the Adriatic, and the Phaiakians will be dislodged by the Corinthian colonizers of Corcyra. There are other anticipations of Greek colonization as well, but groups are also mentioned who are untouched by the Argonauts' presence and apparently will remain independent of Greek colonists. Although the references to these various groups and their places come in more or less incidentally and are focused through the Argonauts' perspective, they give an impression of a zone of dynamic cultural contact, immigration and settlement, movement, and intermingling of peoples, of whom the Greeks are one, even though they are privileged in the text and destined for colonial domination in some places. This mixture of people and their histories may have resonated with an aspect of the Greeks' experience in Ptolemaic Egypt, where there were communities of immigrants from countries besides Greece as well as the native Egyptians.[7]

The itinerary in the western Mediterranean is framed, as we observed, by the two harbors of *Argo* at beginning (Aithalie) and end (Lake Tritonis), so that the space demarcated by the voyage seems to have a coherent shape. Within it, however, the Argonauts pass areas that are beyond their or any mortals' control, where they are up against the same supernatural powers that Odysseus will face. This whole region—southern Italy, the Lipari Islands, and the Strait of Messina—resists integration into the spatial system, even though in actuality it was the scene of major Greek activity and had been for half a millennium. In the poem's terms, then, within the systematized space of the western Mediterranean there remains a pocket of mystified (or mythic) space.

But the journey ends with a paradeigmatic exercise in the construction of space in the Syrtis episode, which, given the proximity of that area to Egypt and the Ptolemies' claims on Cyrene, surely held particular significance for

7. Alexandria may be a somewhat special case, although it too had various communities (eventually at least) and there was certainly a distinctive Egyptian presence all along, with neighborhoods in the Rhakotis area and on Pharos Island. For Memphis, see Thompson 1988: 82–105: enclaves of Phoenicians, Syrians, Jews, Carians, and others as well as Greeks and Egyptians, although there were of course tendencies toward integration. Cf. Strabo 17.1.32 on Memphis: *πόλις δ' ἐστὶ μεγάλη τε καὶ εὔανδρος, δευτέρα μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, μιγάδων ἀνδρῶν, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ συνῳκισμένων* ("the city is second after Alexandria in its size and large population. This consists of a mixture of races, like those who have settled together there [Alexandria]"). That Alexandria was a Greek enclave has been coming more and more into question.

Apollonius and his Alexandrian readers (for one thing, as one of his self-legitimating acts the eponymous founder of Alexandria had traveled to the oracle of Ammon in the Libyan desert). The pendant episode at the future site of Thera, where Apollo with his radiant bow brings clarity and spatial orientation out of the formless darkness that recalls the trackless Libyan desert, asserts a firm Greek claim to northern Africa. The analogy with the Macedonians in Egypt is unmistakable. In tandem with this preparation for the future, in eastern Crete Medea kills with her baleful gaze the giant Talos, remnant of the Bronze Age. The savage and primitive have been effaced and, presumably, supplanted by a more civilized (Ptolemaic) age; but Medea's grisly murders in Iolkos and Corinth also remain in the future.

Greeks, then, the poem suggests, with their superior spatial abilities, excel locally bound non-Greeks with their limited cultural horizons. They embody such civilized values as hospitality, aid to suppliants, and piety to the gods, and they use their talents to relieve the oppressed (Phineus, Lykos). Their cognitive mastery of the world is fit to be translated into economic and political domination, first through colonization and now through empire. Conversely, there are areas of the world and whole peoples that remain impervious to their influence, not only inland, away from the seacoasts, but also along the trajectory of the Argonauts' voyage. Non-Greek others have their own cultural practices and their own traditions, although some appear like Greeks, in certain respects at least. The Greeks commit treachery and murder. They carry off a king's daughter, and despite Medea's naiveté they do not always keep their word (Jason in Corinth, whose actions are foreshadowed in book 3). The polarization of the world into Greeks (superior) and others (inferior) that is prominent in fifth-century BCE Greek literature is there in the poem, but it is simultaneously opened to question. From this point of view, the *Argonautika* appears as neither an assertion nor a denial of Greek chauvinism. Instead, through the complex and self-questioning model of space it proposes, it explores the validity and the possible fluidity of boundaries between cultures, and between self and other.

Alexandria, the Situation of Obliquity, and an Alexandrian Poetics of Space

This exploration surely was relevant to the experience of Greeks living in Egypt and very likely was stimulated by it. When one considers the *Argonautika* from the perspective of space, a remarkable paradox emerges: while it places the traditional centers of Greek culture in the middle of the space it constructs, it was written away from those centers in Alexandria. With its excellent harbor Alexandria opened itself to the Mediterranean far more than pre-conquest

Egypt had generally done.[8] But the city looked to mainland Greece from a distance that was more than physical, created as it also was by the fact that Greeks now lived in proximity to, and had to find a way of ruling, a people possessed of an ancient and sophisticated culture that they could not seriously claim was inferior to their own. As a city in Egypt, Alexandria's position can well have evoked an experience like that of the Argonauts on their voyage. The city was situated on the coast, in Greek thought a locus of clear definitions and boundaries. To a significant degree, although not completely as we shall see, it was a space of representation of Greek identity. But inland, up the Nile River, was a space where that other culture predominated, and where contact could challenge the security of definitions. From the perspective of its host country, Alexandria was a new foundation built by alien rulers.[9] One hostile Egyptian text calls it "the city of the Girdlewearers."[10] By the Roman period it was referred to as "Alexandria beside Egypt." Spatially and conceptually, the city's position was oblique in relation to both Greece and Egypt.

This situation must have been unsettling for the Greeks, but it may also have been exciting. It shook loose old ways of understanding the world, and alongside the attendant anxieties—or no doubt partly through them—it provoked new kinds of poetry. The *Argonautika* was written from this position of obliquity, which, in its condition of being neither "here" nor "there," opened old understandings of space to re-examination. This involved questions of orientation, the place of Greek culture in the world and its relations with others.

The condition of the Greeks in Alexandria has often been described as one of "deracination."[11] Their reaction to it can be seen as one of compensation: an attempt to cling to Greek traditions, to reconstruct them in this foreign setting,

8. Amasis seems to have been an exception: Hölbl 2001: 3.

9. It may be true, as Favard-Meeks and Meeks (2000) argue, that from an Egyptian perspective there was a certain logic to the placement of Alexandria, because the last indigenous dynasties had located their capitals in the Nile Delta, and the Ptolemies took pains to present themselves to their Egyptian subjects as pharaohs. But as these writers also show, the coastal area west of the delta, where Alexandria was founded, had long been a marginal zone, difficult to control, whose inhabitants were of ambiguous (Egyptian or Libyan) identity. They suggest that Rhakotis, the Egyptian village that evidently preceded Alexandria on the site, served as an outpost to keep the area under observation and guard against intruders from the sea and from Libya (cf. Strabo 17.1.6).

10. "The Oracle of the Potter." Translation of a Greek version of what was probably an Egyptian original in Burstein 1985: 106. Such open hostility, issuing in an apocalyptic vision, was not the only possible expression of unease. Another was the attempt to appropriate Alexander to Egypt by making him the son of the last native pharaoh, Nectanebo, as the "Alexander Romance" did. This text as we have it was written by a Greek and is of late date, but Lloyd 1982: 48 suggests that the story of Alexander's paternity was Egyptian because it fits Egyptian myths of theogamy, and that it must date from shortly after Alexander's conquest of Egypt. This story, however, whether of Egyptian or Greek origin, can also be read as an attempt to forge cooperation, to legitimate the new dynasty by conforming it to Egyptian ideas; Hölbl 2001: 79, for example, considers it an "element of Pharaonic ideology" appropriated by the Ptolemies. And it is clear that any resistance such tales reflect was only one of many Egyptian responses to the Greeks. At this point I am emphasizing the position of Alexandria as a problem for Greeks and Egyptians. How they dealt with it successfully—and evidently they did so in various ways—is another matter. The *Argonautika* represents one way of responding to the problem. On Egyptian literature as reflecting a (hostile) response to Greek rule, see also Fraser 1972: I, 675–86 (680–81 on the early Ptolemaic date of the material in these texts) and Bowman 1986: 31.

11. E.g., Bulloch 1985: 543; Green 1988: 13, 1997: 62–63; Hunter 1993: 154; cf. Montiglio 2005: 229–32 for an excellent account of how the *Argonautika* expresses a sense of displacement.

and to assert their Hellenic identity all the more strongly in the face of this new environment. The Mouseion, the Library, and the poetry associated with them are often seen within this framework.[12] This view is surely true to a significant extent, but it is incomplete and risks being reductive. It easily leads to thinking of Alexandrian poetry as repetitive, even stale, and as merely reproducing past literary forms cut loose of the polis framework that originally nourished them. This poetry thus can appear, or be made to appear, out of touch with the political and cultural realities of its time, hermetically sealed within the confines of the Mouseion and written for the benefit of a tiny intellectual elite.[13] This "birdcage of the Muses"[14] model is based on properties of the poetry, but it obscures what is new and exciting in these texts; and scholarship has been moving away from it, to excellent effect.

In a remarkable article, Daniel Selden has gone beyond discussions of "deracination" to offer a sophisticated assessment of Callimachus's poetry as an expression of Alexandria's character as a city constituted by heterogeneity, where "to be an outlander was paradoxically the norm."[15] Callimachus, he suggests, constructs a "poetics of displacement,"[16] according to the logic of the "alibi," the condition of being "somewhere else." In this way, Callimachus writes from within Ptolemaic ideology, although his poetry can accommodate both a celebration and a critique of the regime's achievements.[17] Selden's readings of individual poems from this point of view are fascinating, and he concentrates on Callimachus for good reason. Callimachus is often taken as foundational for an Alexandrian poetics, whatever one takes that poetics to be, and certainly he makes the most explicit, if enigmatic, statements about his own aesthetic. But Apollonius has a way of dropping out of discussions of Alexandrian poetry.[18] Perhaps the decision to write an epic poem in the third century BCE has seemed old-fashioned. Perhaps also this tendency is a holdover from the notion of a quarrel between Callimachus and Apollonius, which has lately come to be viewed with a deserved skepticism.[19] If Callimachus

12. For a clear expression of this view of the Library, see Maehler 2004. Erskine (1995) incorporates it into a broader and more differentiated discussion of ways in which the Library served to legitimate the Ptolemies in the eyes of Greeks as well as Egyptians.

13. See especially Cameron's vigorous arguments against this view, 1995: 24–70.

14. The endlessly quoted and clever but perversely influential phrase of Timon of Phlius, quoted by Athenaeus (1.22d).

15. Selden 1998: 290.

16. Selden 1998: 306.

17. Selden 1998: 411.

18. For example, in the more than four hundred pages of his discussion of the relation of this poetry to the Ptolemaic court and of its audience, Weber 1993 refers to Apollonius only a handful of times, and mostly in passing.

19. Canfora's semifactual account of the Library contains an excellent example of how the idea of a quarrel can get elaborated far beyond whatever might be claimed as evidence for it, and of how the *Argonautika* can get read disparagingly through its lens (1990: 42–43). For cautious skepticism that there was a quarrel, see Pfeiffer 1968: 141–44, who still opposes the *Argonautika* to the Callimachean aesthetic, although his criteria are quite subjective (Apollonius "did not attempt the same scrupulous precision and discipline of language and metre, and

represents a new kind of poetry, and if he took Apollonius as his rival and the target of his polemics (debatable), then Apollonius, according to this line of thought, must represent something retrograde.[20]

I am arguing, by contrast, that Apollonius's poetry is fully in tune with the conditions in Alexandria, and more generally with the new understandings of the world created by Alexander's conquests, and Selden's discussion of Callimachus offers a valuable framework for exploring this possibility. Let us notice first that his talk of "displacement" and the "alibi" is explicitly spatial, and the *Argonautika*, as I hope I have shown by now, is a thoroughly spatial text. Thus the two poets share common ground, although their approaches are different. Their relation can usefully be considered from the perspective of Selden's discussion of the *aition* in Callimachus. Of Callimachus's poem the *Aetia*, Selden writes, "in a particularly fragmentary way, it brings together disjoint pieces of tradition, procured from different times, places, peoples, and milieux, cataloguing the contemporary world as one vast collection of memorials, each with its own peculiar character and disposition." "In place of the integrity of the Homeric experience . . . there is only an uncircumscribed series of discrete sites, each of which in turn marks an intersection of diverse itineraries and is hence constituted as a set of historic and geographic alibis."[21] Formally, the elegiac couplets in which the poem was composed tend to be discontinuous by comparison with dactylic hexameters. Thematically, Callimachus's well-known interest in the local[22] and the prominence he gives local traditions can be understood within the framework of the "alibi" as Selden describes it. Even when there is movement from place to place in Callimachus's poetry, the effect is not to integrate different sites in a larger system. In the *Hymn to Zeus*, Callimachus gestures toward reconciling divergent stories about the god's

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he could never have attained that Callimachean subtlety and graciousness combined with nervous virility," 143). Klein 1975 argues that the *Argonautika* is consistent with Callimachus's ideas about poetry and therefore that the story of a quarrel is without foundation. Lefkowitz 1980 (incorporated into Lefkowitz 1981) argues that there is no basis for believing in a quarrel, as does Rengakos 1992; both consider ancient biographical accounts unreliable on this score. Cameron 1995: 452–53 is less skeptical of some of the biographical material but is noncommittal about a quarrel. Lefkowitz 2008 restates her position in response to him. To my mind, Green's unfortunate polemic (1998) only shows to what desperate arguments one must resort in order to defend the biographies and extract a quarrel from them and from Callimachus's words. Kahane 1994 refreshingly gets beyond the question of a quarrel in discussing Callimachus's *Hymn to Apollo*, and his conclusion (132) is welcome: "What we have seen is not a case of personal mudslinging, but a broad, positive flow of ideas within a community."

20. This is, of course, hard to argue in the wake of Hunter's splendid assessment of Apollonius in his 1993 book and his many articles. I want to stress that I am pointing to a tendency in discussions of Alexandrian poetry that is much less prominent nowadays than it used to be. Scholarship on Apollonius himself has seen the *Argonautika* very differently all along, even though evaluations of it as an epic poem have varied considerably. DeForest 1994 offers an interesting reading of the poem that depicts the characters, who in her view presuppose traditional epic, at odds with a Callimachean narrator. This thesis, however, is not well served by the book's many impressionistic arguments. It also assumes that Callimachus's ideas on poetry were not just influential but dominated and were normative for contemporary Alexandria to such an extent that other poets had to conform to them or fail. There is no basis for such an assumption.

21. Selden 1998: 324 and 325 respectively.

22. This is well described, for example, by Jacob 2000.

birthplace by saying that he was born in Arcadia but that the nymph to whom the infant Zeus was entrusted took him to Crete.[23] Along the way, near Knossos, Zeus's umbilical cord fell off; hence the name of the Omphalian plain (the name means "of the navel"). This explanation adjudicates between the claims of different places but leaves those places unrelated to one another and even emphasizes their distinctiveness. The *aition* explains what might otherwise have seemed evidence in favor of Crete; it does not give the plain a history or make it significant to later ages. The plain that bears the name "Navel" is only one of a multiplicity of centers.

Apollonius's method, as we have seen, is just the reverse. Without eliding the distinctive character of particular places, through the *Argo's* voyage—through movement—he integrates them into a Greek-centered space, even at the cost of simplifying the actual complexity and diversity of local traditions. *Aitia* play a key role in this process. They turn place into narrative and give each place a history-to-come that is part of a larger story of Greek culture. But in this construction of space Apollonius is responding to the same Alexandrian experience of displacement as Callimachus. Presented by their Alexandrian (dis)location with a spatial problem, they each offer in their poetry a representation of space, though in opposite ways: the one by envisioning space as a decentered aggregation of discontinuous places, the other by depicting it as a more or less coherent, Greek-centered unity of places (although, as we have seen, this is a strong impulse, but only one among several, in the *Argonautika*). This construction of space effaces the internal heterogeneity among Greeks.[24] Apollonius thus offers those Greeks who came to Alexandria from many different cities and regions, and eventually the widely dispersed Greeks in the Hellenistic world generally, a common ground of identification. Rather than Callimachean "other-theres," Apollonius provides a location, a center as compensation for being decentered; and he links Alexandria to that center as a natural extension of it by way of the story of Cyrene.

Despite the differences between Apollonius and Callimachus, then, each is dealing in his own way with a set of concerns that are as much cultural as political. These have to do with what it can mean to be Greek in heterogeneous Alexandria, and Alexandrian in relation both to Greece and to the ancient and complex culture of Egypt. Different as these poets are, there is an underlying affinity between their works, and they can legitimately be seen as participants in a common enterprise that is intimately related to the Ptolemaic regime.

By comparison with Callimachus's construction of space, Apollonius's is apt to seem reactionary. A map with Greece at the center and progressively

23. Call. *Hymn to Zeus* 42–45, discussed in connection with the *Aetia* in somewhat different terms by Selden 1998: 320–21.

24. Here too the catalogue of Argonauts in the first book plays a key role by depicting mainland Greece as a unity of its constituent places.

more uncivilized barbarians at the edges was, in fact, characteristic of a much older geography, whereas "the centrifugal forces released by the enlargement of the *oikoumenê* [as a result of Alexander's campaigns] catapulted Greece off its central position."[25] The *Argonautika* may have spoken to that urge that many have seen embodied in the Library to assert the primacy of Hellenism in reaction against the new perception of space, whereas Callimachus seems to have addressed the question—reflecting a similar anxiety—of whether, in so heterogeneous and vast a world as Alexander's itineraries had revealed, there can be any unity to space at all. On the other hand, there are all those elements in the *Argonautika* that expose the limits of the Hellenocentric spatial scheme and throw into doubt the primacy of foundational Hellenic values or raise the question of whether the Greeks had a monopoly on such values. It is as though the poem, even in the process of constructing the old spatial model, questions the continuing validity of that model and of the cultural and ethnic boundaries it helped construct. Seen in this light, the *Argonautika* moves in the direction of Callimachean space, although it never goes that far. This *Argonautika* is a far more tentative and questioning text than a straightforward poem of Greek mastery over space would be; it never permits closure on the questions it raises. This reading accounts for aspects of the narrative that a more closed reading, which sees the poems simply as an expression of Hellenocentrism, cannot—first and foremost, the character of Jason as a new and more tentative epic hero; in this context, this simply is not a problem. But the text offers abundant purchase for each reading. Thus just as it configures different understandings of space, so it structures varying responses to conditions in Alexandria.[26]

In other Alexandrian poets as well, space is fundamental to defining those circumstances. Peter Bing has argued that the first twenty poems of the poetry book of Posidippus revealed by the new Milan papyrus map a geography of Ptolemaic imperial ambitions through the provenances of the gemstones that are their subjects.[27] The area thus defined corresponds roughly to that of Alexander's conquests, so that the poems side with the Ptolemies against their Seleucid rivals. In addition, the poems trace the gemstones' evolution from their extraction from the earth as unworked material in far-flung places through their transformation by artisans into cultural artifacts to their use as luxury objects (for instance, as jewels worn on women's necks), surely in Alexandria. There is a parallel, Bing suggests, in the poem (AB 37) on the dedication to Arsinoe (in the Zephyrium temple?) of Arion's lyre, which implies the movement of the Greek cultural heritage to Alexandria. Equally important is the

25. Geus 2003: 243. For the earlier schemes centered on Greece, see his discussion, 232–36.

26. Apollonius's addressing of conditions in Alexandria has a temporal dimension as well. For excellent remarks on his attempt to construct a past that would be usable in the Alexandrian present, see Hunter 1993: 105 and Stephens 2003: 171–73. For a parallel in the Hellenistic revival of tomb cults at sites with "heroic" connotations (including, interestingly, Orchomenos, prominent in the *Argonautika*), see Alcock 1997.

27. Bing 2005. Cf. Stephens 2008: 97.

implication in the epitaph for Doricha, the mistress of Sappho's brother (AB 122), of Alexandria's role in disseminating that heritage back to the Greek world. Here we have yet another construction of space, which contrasts with those of both Apollonius and Callimachus. Instead of a decentered poetics or a centrifugal movement to the edges of the *oikoumenê* that still defines a center in mainland Greece, we have a centripetal movement to Alexandria of objects that become signs of political and cultural hegemony and then the dispersal outward to the Greek world of elements of Hellenic culture that also implies a claim to primacy. Alexandria is naturalized as the new metaphorical center of Hellenism in a confident denial of Callimachean estrangement or Apollonian doubt that still should be seen as a response to the same situation.

Theocritus's "pastoral" or bucolic idylls offer yet another approach to space. They construct a different kind of "alibi" or "other-there": a coherent but essentially nonmimetic world of herdsmen, animals, nymphs, and gods in a liminal space between human settlements and nature. This world constitutes an imaginary heterotopia in Foucault's sense, a place apart and radically different from the surroundings of the reader, a site from which one might gain a certain perspective on one's familiar environment.[28] It is an alternative world to that of the city, and it seems no accident that Theocritus was active in what was becoming, if it was not already, the largest Greek city yet known. Even if the bucolics were not composed in Alexandria (and there seems no reason why they cannot have been), they were certainly read there. They are, then, intimately related to urbanism.[29] Through this imagined other place and the words of its inhabitants, a reader could explore such questions as the relations between humans and the natural world, the pleasures and dangers of eros, the nature of the self and its relation to others, and, above all, the fixity or fluidity of boundaries. In the poems the boundaries at issue, which archaic poetry was concerned to draw clearly, are those between animals, humans, and gods, and their blurring is embodied in the god Pan, a central figure for bucolic poetry. But it would not be far-fetched for an Alexandrian reader to think by analogy of ethnic boundaries as well.[30] Theocritus's exploration of these themes is spatial, and his construction

28. Theocritus's approach to space might also be fruitfully considered from the perspective of landscape as discussed by Hirsch 1995: as a relationship between a foreground consisting of the activities of daily life and a background of often contrasting potentialities.

29. It is surely significant that the same poet who wrote the bucolics also has given us the most direct representation of Alexandria, middle-class Syracusan women who have taken up residence there, and the royal palace (Idyll 15).

30. In using the term "analogy," I have in mind, of course, Gutzwiller's model of pastoral as structured by "a system of analogies to analogies. This phrase can refer to the congruence between analogies in form and in content, to the relationship between these more formal analogies and the reader's understanding from them of theme, characterization, and plot, and, finally, to the correspondence between the entire internal message of the poetry and external analogies formulated by the reader" (1991: 17–18). I should emphasize that I am talking in general terms about an aspect of very complex poems, and that I do not mean to imply that they cannot be read in other ways as well. Payne (2007), for example, has written eloquently and persuasively about the pleasures and other psychological benefits of the imaginary that Theocritean bucolic offers. I am far from wanting to deny the

of space can interestingly be compared with that of Apollonius.[31] The *Argonautika* also creates a world away from Alexandria, apart not only spatially but also temporally, and from this distant perspective Apollonius uses a product of the imagination, the myth of the Argonauts, to hold up to scrutiny matters of particular pertinence to his Alexandrian audience. There are great differences, of course. Apollonius's poem is more overtly "political" (in a broad sense) than Theocritean bucolic, he ties the events of his narrative explicitly to the Ptolemaic present especially by means of his *aitia*, and compared to the bucolics the *Argonautika* is extensively mimetic, though there are notable limits to his realism.[32] But the differences, although important, should not obscure the poets' shared approach to space.

Through their constructions of space, all four of these roughly contemporary Alexandrian poets model different but complementary responses to what looks, to judge from literature at least, like a creatively unsettling experience of displacement and reorientation. We know little about conditions at the Ptolemaic court and in the Mouseion, but rather than cloistered hirelings squabbling in the birdcage of the Muses, what if we were to imagine the excitement of a group of artists collaborating in extending traditional forms to produce an experimental poetry that would be adequate to a suddenly changed world?[33] There may well have been rivalries, polemics as well; but competition can be productive. Probably there were various kinds of anxiety—about being Greek in an expanded world, about what the cultural and literary traditions could mean in the new environment, about how to define a new poetics. But these things provided the impetus for a very considerable achievement.[34]

Poetry was not the only medium in which conditions in Alexandria produced innovative experimentation. Judith McKenzie has traced the "baroque" style in architecture that spread throughout the Mediterranean in the first and second centuries CE to Alexandrian innovations in the Corinthian order that were partly stimulated by Egyptian architecture. Moreover, wall paintings of architecture such as are found in Pompeii and Herculaneum make use of vanishing line and vanishing point techniques of perspective that may well have

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importance of those pleasures, and in fact to talk of space as I have is to talk about the formation of an imaginary. I would also want to ask who needs the pleasures of the imaginary, and why. The answer to the first question is, no doubt, "we all do." But the reasons might vary importantly according to different readers' historical and cultural contexts.

31. This comparison is not far-fetched. Theocritus's use of dactylic hexameter in his bucolics in itself gives them formal affinities with epic.

32. For various ways in which Apollonius can be said to be realistic, see Zanker 1987: 65–79, 115–19, 195–209.

33. Cf Stephens' suggestion of a complementary relation between the *Argonautika* and Callimachus's *Aetia*, 2008: 103.

34. This may seem obvious and not in need of saying, but I am trying to provide an alternative to the tendency to see Apollonius in particular as merely nostalgic for the old world and vanished Hellenic certainties. See, for example, Green 1997 (a particularly eloquent exponent of this view) and Zanker 1987: 19–24 (a sophisticated version of it).

originated in Alexandria, where Euclid, who wrote on perspective, spent time.[35] Many other cultural and intellectual transformations took place in Alexandria; but these seem especially good parallels to the experimental character of the poetry of Apollonius and his contemporaries.

Oswyn Murray has observed that periods in which knowledge of the world expands cause "a new awareness, a new flexibility of response, to the variety of human cultures."[36] People try to understand what was previously unknown, he says, by means of paradigms and patterns of thought already existing in their culture, especially as these are transmitted by earlier writers. I would add that in the process these paradigms change and are expanded to accommodate the new understandings. Murray's example is the way Herodotus shaped the views of Hellenistic poets and prose writers about the world after Alexander. But I think that his discussion offers one useful perspective on Apollonius's relation to the Greek poetic tradition as well, and particularly on why such an innovative poet chose to write an epic poem in the third century BCE. Homeric epic is, of course, the archetype, and in using it as a lens for viewing the world Apollonius was doing something very traditional. But he also drew heavily on archaic lyric, choral and hymnic poetry, tragedy, prose historiography (including Herodotus, but also Timaeus and various local historians) and geographical writing, to give just a partial list. This "crossing of genres" is not just an allusive game or formal experimentation, although it is those things and they are part of the pleasures of reading this poem. Apollonius is using the riches of his literary and intellectual tradition to come to grips with new conditions, and in doing so he expands the parameters of the epic form. By making it more capacious he turns it into an instrument for exploring the newly visible diversity in the world. And he transforms and enriches epic in many other ways: in aspects of narrative technique (such as narrative voice, speeches, and similes),[37] in language,[38] and in avoidance of formulaic repetition.[39] The transformed understandings produced by Alexander's conquests literally had a spatial basis; and in writing his spatial epic Apollonius makes the form do what he needs it to do.

Alexandria as a Space of Representation

Here we should look in more detail at the city in which the *Argonautika* was produced, and in which its author, as the second Librarian, held a central

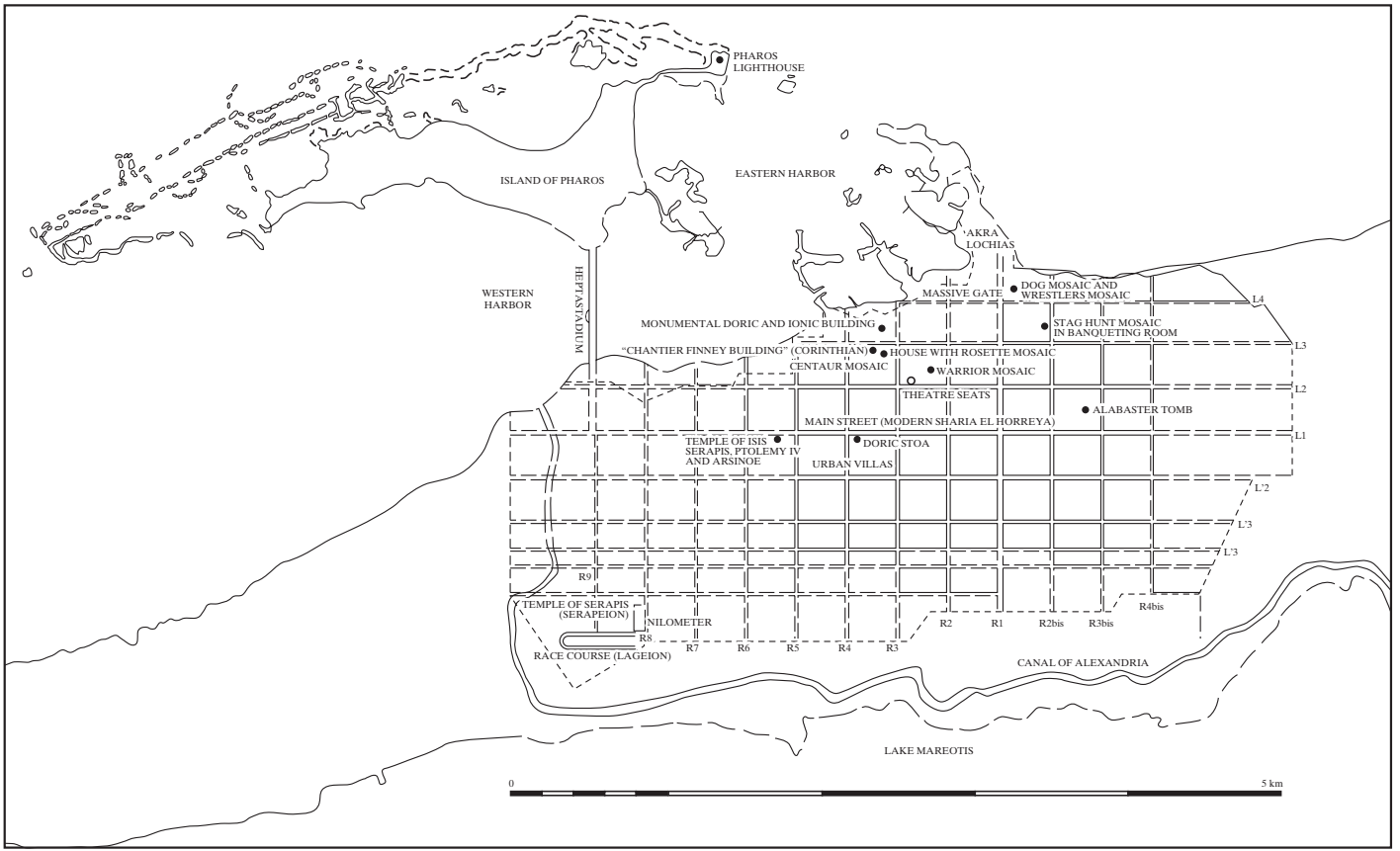
35. McKenzie 2007, chap. 5 (perspective is discussed on 109).

36. Murray 1972: 201.

37. See Hunter 1993: 101–51; Goldhill 1991: 284–333. By exploring Apollonius's responses to the past, Goldhill usefully outlines his use of paradigms.

38. Redondo 2000.

39. Hunter 1993: 112, 142; Fantuzzi 2008. Repetitions, as Fantuzzi points out, become internal cross-references, although the first use of a phrase may evoke a Homeric context.



Map 5. Ptolemaic Alexandria

position in the Greek cultural establishment (see map 5). To consider it as an urban space will bring us to the question of the relations among cultures, and we can then ask how the poem might respond to questions raised by those relations and the various feelings aroused by them.[40]

If the shape of Alexandria suggested a *chlamys* or Macedonian military cloak to its third-century BCE inhabitants as well as to Strabo in the second century CE,[41] then here on the threshold of Egypt it proclaimed to its inhabitants and its visitors, both Greek and non-Greek, that they were moving about in Greek space. In any case, it was laid out on the grid pattern that had become customary in Greek urban planning, with streets wide enough for riding horses and driving chariots; two especially wide avenues bisected each other at right angles.[42] Somewhere around the middle of the city, it seems, were placed characteristically Greek spaces: an *agora*,[43] law courts, and a gymnasium that Strabo especially admired.[44] Unlike most other Greek cities, however, it also contained a royal palace—or rather a palace quarter, which, according to Strabo, occupied between a quarter and a third of the city's area.[45] The residential section of the palace evidently stretched northward along a peninsula (Cape Lochias) that formed the east side of the eastern harbor, but other parts extended westward along the harbor's inner shore. The private royal harbor lay fairly far out along Cape Lochias and formed part of the residential complex. Adjacent to the royal harbor to the south were several public ports formed by reefs and moles with structures on them. Every Ptolemy, says Strabo, built an additional palace within this compound, although obviously in the time of the first Ptolemies there would have been far fewer structures than there were eventually. Also part of the palace, according to Strabo, were the Mouseion, the Library, and the Soma, the "Body" or tomb of Alexander, where the conqueror's

40. Fraser 1972: I, 3–37 gives an overview of the topography and the layout of Alexandria, the latter based heavily on Strabo. The evidence for the plan of the city and the buildings erected by the first three Ptolemies has been thoroughly re-examined by McKenzie 2007: 19–30, 37–61. A useful general account of the physical city, the history, and the culture of Alexandria is El Abbadi 1992. Recent discussions of the results of archaeological investigations, especially those in the eastern harbor, are Empereur 1998, 2000, and Goddio 1998. Useful collections of essays on various aspects of Alexandria and its cultures include Jacob and de Polignac 2000; Hirst and Silk 2004; Harris and Ruffini 2004.

41. Strabo 17.1.8; cf. Plut. *Alexander* 26.8.

42. Strabo 17.1.8. Although the plan of the city was predominantly Greek, McKenzie 2007: 24, 38 notes local influences on it, particularly the wide east-west street and the use of the Egyptian cubit as the unit of measure for the grid pattern.

43. The *agora* is first attested in a papyrus from around the middle of the third century BCE (McKenzie 2007: 47–48), but so basic a feature of Greek cities must have been built early on. Arrian (*Anab.* 3.1.5) says that Alexander designated its site.

44. Strabo 17.1.10.

45. Strabo 17.1.8. Fraser 1972: I, 14–15, noting Strabo's later reference to the "inner palaces" (17.1.9), plausibly suggests that this phrase refers to the royal residences proper, whereas "the palaces" refers to a larger area that included gardens, shrines, and the zoo that Philadelphus established. This would make good sense of what, according to Strabo's figure, would at first seem an enormous proportion of the city's area devoted to the palaces. Alternatively, Strabo's word *περίβολος* could refer to the city's northern circuit rather than its area.

body lay, eventually in a glass sarcophagus, and where the Ptolemies were buried also.[46]

Gregory Nagy has observed that this whole royal complex is based on a logic of contiguity and continuity, so that palace, Mouseion with the library, and Soma express the wealth, power, and prestige of the Ptolemies.[47] Now, as the result of underwater investigations,[48] we can add that the harbors and all its installations—wharves, warehouses, and offices—were contiguous with the palace and linked to it, and that the shipyards along the southern shore of the eastern harbor were a continuation of it.[49] So the palace complex also made a statement about economic control. At the end of an impressive seven-stade causeway (the Heptastadion) that formed the boundary between the eastern and western harbors, the stupendous Pharos lighthouse, the first thing sailors and ship passengers saw as they approached Alexandria and the last as they sailed away, welcomed and drew in visitors, and boasted unmistakably of the brilliance of the Ptolemaic regime.[50] It too should be understood in relation to the palace complex.

On its own beside the harbor, the palace with its Mouseion might seem a sheltered island of Greek culture, perched precariously "on the edge of the edge" of an alien land, gazing nostalgically toward the Mediterranean and mainland Greece. On the contrary: it enjoyed a position that dominated the flow of people, goods, and ideas into and out of Egypt. Everything and everyone had to enter or leave through this filter—or at least that seems to be the ideological effect of its location.

The logic of continuity that Nagy describes as characteristic of the palace complex is a *spatial* logic, and it works with those other central places, the *agora*, law courts, and gymnasium, to make a statement about Ptolemaic political, economic, and cultural hegemony. This is a perfect example of Lefebvre's space of representation. It is carefully constructed to exert an ideological pull on anyone who uses it. As one moved around Alexandria, one experienced, corporeally as well as emotionally and intellectually, a carefully selected and controlled representation of Greekness, all tied to the body of the king (Alexander and Ptolemy) and the corpus of Greek literature, as Nagy says. And one participated with the body in that representation. In Theocritus's Idyll 15, in fact, we have an

46. Strabo says that Ptolemy I Soter, who first brought the body to Egypt, put it in a gold sarcophagus. We do not know where the body was located in the reigns of the first three Ptolemies, but it is possible, and even likely, that a forerunner of the Soma built by Ptolemy IV Philopator (McKenzie 2007: 64–65) existed early on. The ideological message it sent would have been valuable to the Ptolemies for legitimation.

47. Nagy 1998. For the possibility that the combination of palace, library, and Soma imitates pharaonic practice, see Canfora 1990: 160.

48. See Goddio 1998.

49. Cf. Strabo 17.1.8: *ἅπαντα μέντοι συναφῆ καὶ ἀλλήλοις καὶ τῷ λιμένι, καὶ ὅσα ἔξω αὐτοῦ* ("all [the royal residences built by successive Ptolemies] are connected with one another *and with the harbor, even those that are outside it*"—emphasis added).

50. An excellent recent treatment based on ancient visual and textual evidence is McKenzie 2007: 41–45.

account of just such movement through Alexandria, and although the women through whose experience we see the city are themselves the object of a distancing irony, we get a vivid idea of how simply to walk through it was to be reminded everywhere of Ptolemaic power and prestige. We see also how, on certain carefully managed occasions, the palace exerted a centripetal attraction on citizens of Alexandria. The poem culminates in the opulent spectacle of the Adonis festival, a Greek version and appropriation of eastern cult with strong imperial overtones.[51] Greek users of Alexandrian space would have found in this Ptolemaic display produced by a flow through contiguous places a source of pride, a feeling of superiority (the ugly side of which is evident in the comment on Egyptians by Theocritus's women, 15.47–50), and also a sense of unity with other Greeks through common objects of identification. This last was evidently needed; Alexandria was heterogeneous not only because it contained various non-Greeks as well as Greeks but also because immigrants came from every part of the Greek world. Theocritus's poem also shows how tensions could arise among them from observable differences in dialect (15.87–95), only to be subsumed in the palace festival. Egyptians, of course, might have a very different response to these Greek-inflected spaces of the city.

The Library can be seen as part of this Ptolemaic self-presentation, as an assertion of Hellenism, of Alexandria's cultural leadership among Greeks generally, and of the Ptolemies' wealth, power, and prestige. It constituted a heterotopia (comparable, I have suggested, to the *Argo*) from which Greek culture could be viewed as a whole.[52] Through the written word and in the interrelations among the texts collected there, it provided a representation of that culture at once in its diachronic development and as a synchronic structure. It replaced the polis as the framework for poetic production and institutionalized literature and the scientific creation of knowledge.[53] It marked a definitive shift to a book culture in which the reception of texts occurred regularly through reading, although the possibilities for performance, both at court and at public festivals in Alexandria—and therefore within a civic setting—should not be underestimated.[54] Consequently, it helped bring about a shift in the conception

51. See Reed 2000.

52. Cf. Hartog 2001 [1996]: 106: "Viewing the world from the standpoint of the Library of Alexandria made it possible to take the measure of all that Greek culture had been, imparting visibility and legibility to it, in short confirming its legitimacy (and hence also that of the Greek monarchs, who, as newcomers to the East, needed that reassurance). The production of such an inventory made it possible to give to *to Hellênikon* a new definition, as a shared literary heritage."

53. Cf. Goldhill 1991: 23–25. He sees the library's other consequences as the promotion of "social and intellectual exclusivity" and a "constant, even obsessional, awareness of past texts." How obsessional that concern was is, of course, a matter of judgment. Goldhill's own readings of Theocritus and Apollonius show how creative it could be.

54. See Weber 1993: 180–82. He also emphasizes symposia at the royal court as a likely setting for Alexandrian poetry. For fuller discussion of both these venues, see Cameron 1995: 47–70, 71–103. The *Argonautika*, of course, is too long for continuous performance at festival competitions, although parts of book 3, for example, may have been admirably suited for this. Performance at symposia over a number of days seems to me perfectly possible. The poem would be greatly enriched by oral performance.

of "text" and a new emphasis on collating different versions of a work in order to supersede them with a definitive text.[55] It thus served as a means of control over the written word and the formation of a canon.[56] Viewed from the most general perspective, the Library embodied physically, as Christian Jacob has suggested, a major paradigm that shaped the Alexandrian intellectual and cultural enterprise: accumulation. This involved the flow of information and books to Alexandria and their recodification in the form of maps, for example, or a "corrected" text or *diorthôsis* of a given author.[57] We should note the spatial character of this flow, which is typical of relative space, whereas the Library, in many of its aspects, was a relational space or a space of representation.

In addition, the Library enabled a new kind of poetry that made highly creative use of the past it summed up. An unrivaled resource for research, it stood, it seems, in a complementary relation to the Mouseion, where new knowledge of all kinds and new texts were created that would then take their place in the Library as fresh elements in the developing Greek cultural formation. In fact, the Library may have occupied not a separate building but some space within the Mouseion.[58] If so, the spatial convergence would stress their symbiotic relationship. If the Library also contained non-Greek texts in Greek translations,[59] that fact can be interpreted in diverse ways, like so much else in Ptolemaic culture. Does it represent an attempt to appropriate and domesticate the foreign? Or does it suggest an interest in other cultures and an attempt to understand them? Or both at once?

In these ways, the Library and Mouseion can be understood within a Greek framework. And although they represented innovations in many ways, their roots went back into earlier periods. Royal patronage of poetry had a precedent in the archaic and fifth-century BCE tyrants. The Mouseion (precinct of the Muses) had parallels in shrines to the Muses in other Hellenistic cities, and more significantly Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum were both

55. See Pfeiffer 1968: 87–122, 171–233. For a recent account of this editorial activity and its complex implications, see Nagy 1996, chaps. 5–7.

56. Nagy 1998: 209.

57. Jacob 1998. Posidippus's gemstone poems seem to be in the same spirit. Accumulation is also characteristic of the *Argonautika*. Apollonius sifted various sources—such as earlier literary treatments of the myth, geographical treatises, and the work of local historians—to produce a comprehensive and "definitive" version of the story and the space it encompassed. But what he produced was not a map, not even a verbal one, but the opposite (relative and relational space), and not even a *periplous* but something different.

58. Fraser 1972: I, 324–25; Canfora 1990: 77–79, 137–44; Delia 1992: 1450–51; Casson 2001: 34. This possibility becomes all the stronger if one accepts Bagnall's cogent arguments (2002) that the Library contained only a fraction of the 300,000–400,000 papyrus rolls attributed to it (or more, according to our only more or less ancient source, Tzetzes; see Fraser 1972: I, 328–29; Casson 2001: 36). On the number of books in the Library see also Barnes 2000: 64–66.

59. See Fraser 1972: I, 330. The famous example is the Greek translation of the Pentateuch, which, if the letter of Pseudo-Aristeas to Philocrates is accurate, was done under Philadelphus. The letter attributes an interesting mixture of motives to him: at first the desire that the Library's collection be as comprehensive as possible (sections 10–12, 29–31)—accumulation again—but later the interests of the Jewish community in Alexandria (sections 38–39, 308–11). These motives are not mutually exclusive, but they indicate different cultural frames of reference typical of Alexandria.

dedicated to the Muses.[60] The covered walk (*peripatos*) mentioned by Strabo (17.1.8) as a feature of the Mouseion may have imitated the walks in the Lyceum that gave the Aristotelian school its name (*Peripatetic*). The driving force behind the Mouseion and Library seems to have been Demetrius of Phaleron, who had been associated with Aristotle and his successor Theophrastus and had governed Athens (317–307 BCE) until he was forced to flee to Alexandria. The inspiration for the Library was evidently Aristotle's own library,[61] and more generally his emphasis on the systematic and comprehensive collection of information may have provided a model. But Greek though these institutions were in character and however symbolically significant they were as repositories and continuators of the Greek heritage, they also were intelligible in an Eastern setting. The palaces and temples of the Near Eastern states of the third and second millennia BCE contained archives of texts—administrative records, correspondence, but also literary works.[62] In addition, Egyptian temples had long contained collections of sacred texts.[63] The Library had an analogous relation to the Mouseion, and later the library at Pergamon was located in the precinct of Athena Nikephoros. In addition, in Alexandria a second, smaller library was evidently located in the Sarapeum, which was on the site of the pre-Alexandria Egyptian settlement of Rhakotis and perhaps in a heavily Egyptian quarter of the city.[64] This temple seems to have been built by Ptolemy III Euergetes, but to judge from dedications from the time of (probably) the second Ptolemy it had a predecessor on the same site.[65] In any case, it is interesting, and perhaps indicative of how the Ptolemies presented themselves to their Egyptian subjects, that outside the districts of the city with a pronounced Greek character, at least by the reign of the third Ptolemy, a temple in which was set a cult that at least pretended to Egyptian origin contained, in Egyptian style, a collection of texts—but presumably, to a significant extent, Greek texts.

It looks as though, if we regard Alexandria as Greek space planted on the edge of Egypt, we will understand only part of the story. Ashton (2004) has suggested that in areas away from the characteristically Greek spaces in the city, and specifically on Pharos Island and in the area around the Sarapeum where there were Egyptian neighborhoods, in dedications of statuary the early Ptolemies were careful to present themselves and their wives in Egyptian style. Just

60. Fraser 1972: I, 312–14.

61. This at least is the generally accepted metaphorical interpretation of Strabo's statement that Aristotle "taught the kings in Egypt the amassing and arranging of a library" (13.1.54), which cannot be literally correct on chronological grounds.

62. Potts 2000; Casson 2001: 1–16.

63. Delia 1992: 1451 gives the evidence. Casson 2001: 16 mentions only Diodorus 1.49.3.

64. Ashton 2004: 16. The evidence for this second library is discussed by Fraser 1972: I, 323–24.

65. Ashton 2004: 19–22. According to McKenzie, "detailed re-examination of the archaeological evidence indicates that there was a monumental building phase before the construction of Ptolemy III Euergetes" (2007: 41; she discusses the sanctuary on 53–55).

as the Library fit both Greek and Egyptian cultural logics, these rulers claimed to be at once Hellenistic kings and pharaohs.[66] For the benefit of their Egyptian subjects, these images sought to legitimate the new kings by fitting them into the venerable dynastic tradition. Similarly, in his study of Ptolemaic royal portraiture, Stanwick shows that the first four Ptolemies and their wives had themselves depicted in this way, whereas with Ptolemy V Epiphanes (204–180 BCE) a change suddenly set in: statues (at least those set up in Alexandria and the Delta) now combined Egyptian style with Greek hair and facial features, with a corresponding shift in ideological message.[67] So the earlier Ptolemies presented themselves in two distinct ways that were distributed among different districts of Alexandria. In the palace and administrative areas, the king was a Greek monarch exercising supreme military, political and economic power and cultural leadership, his position both based on and reinforcing his prestige, which, projected externally, benefited his kingdom. In other areas where Egyptian inhabitants were probably concentrated, he was pharaoh and legitimate successor of pharaohs, protector of Egypt and upholder of traditional values through his generosity, justice, and piety. His image was often associated with temples, and he himself, according to Egyptian ideas, was a god. He fit two contexts at once but kept them distinct. In him, two ideas of kingship crossed but did not blend. At the same time, he perhaps recast the pharaonic traditions into Greek terms and vice versa.[68]

But although it is true at some level that Alexandria as a space comprised distinct spaces that in relation to one another made a statement about the distinctiveness of coexisting cultures, that still is not the entire truth, it seems. De Polignac has pointed out that on a hill, which for Greek immigrants might well have suggested an acropolis with its temples and civic cults, one could see a

66. For an excellent treatment of this combination, see Hölbl 2001: 90–92, 111–12. See also his discussion of Alexander's and the Ptolemies' throne names, which sought both to fit them into Egyptian ideas of kingship and to play on anti-Persian feeling in Egypt (79–85). This double focus was not limited to kingship. As Hölbl remarks in connection with the cleruchy, which had Greek and Egyptian precedents, "phenomena of this kind, with roots in both cultures, were absolutely characteristic of Ptolemaic Egypt" (62).

67. Stanwick 2002; see especially his summary of the shift and its possible implications (81–82). Portraits in the earlier style that were placed in Egyptian temples would have depicted the king as upholding the values traditionally expected of a pharaoh: protection of Egypt, beneficence, the upholding of justice, piety, and godliness (44–45). The later portraits with Greek features could be read in various ways, especially depending on where they were seen. Stanwick suggests that "depending on one's perspective, this change could represent a hellenization of the Egyptian pharaoh or an Egyptianization of the Greek king" (52). That is, the new style can be seen as an attempt to blend the two traditions as opposed to speaking to each separately in different contexts as the older style did. It is also interesting that on current evidence portraits in the new style were not displayed in Upper Egypt, where the Ptolemies' hold was more tenuous and such portraits risked being inflammatory, but the kings continued to be depicted in Egyptian style. Stanwick also suggests that the new style, with the insertion of a Greek face into an Egyptian body, may represent cooperation between the king and Egyptian priests (49–50).

68. See especially Koenen 1993. For the Ptolemies' cultivation of an image that conformed to Greek ideals of kingship—a development that, it is suggested, occurred in tandem with the growth of an administrative bureaucracy—see Samuel 1993. In her response to this paper, Delia 1993 argues that this image coalesced with similar Egyptian conceptions of kingship from the Pharaonic period.

temple—but of Sarapis.[69] The questions surrounding the cult of this god are notoriously difficult, but it was supposed to be an extension of the Memphian cult of the Apis bull. And whether or not Sarapis represented an attempt by the Ptolemies (ultimately a failure) to blend Greek and Egyptian religion,[70] or was intended to give the Greeks in Egypt a common cult around which they could unite and that fit into the Egyptian context,[71] or was felt originally to be an authentic Egyptian cult (and perhaps even was),[72] the sight of this temple on a hill meant that Alexandria was a Greek city with a difference.

Underwater investigations in two parts of the eastern harbor, near Pharos Island and the royal quarter, confirm this idea. It seems, for example, that voyagers arriving in Alexandria, when they were greeted by the Pharos lighthouse, symbol of the Ptolemies' prestige, saw at its base colossal statues of Ptolemy Philadelphus as pharaoh and his wife Arsinoe II as Isis. As the director of the underwater excavations near Pharos, Jean-Yves Empereur has written, "as they entered the eastern harbour, the largest of the town, they would be confronted by a Greek king dressed as pharaoh and this act of royal propaganda stated that he was not merely master of the Greek city of Alexandria but also sovereign of the whole of Egypt."[73] In other words, Ptolemy was presenting himself as pharaoh not only internally to Egyptians but also to travelers from the Mediterranean, including, of course, Greeks. No doubt the dominant message to these new arrivals was as Empereur says; but this sight would also have advertised to them that they were entering a city that was not purely Greek, although parts of it put Hellenism on particular display, but one that straddled two worlds.

It now seems, as a result of the underwater discoveries, that this first impression would have been borne out on land. In the Pharos area, archaeologists have found a huge number of stone architectural elements. Many are parts of columns, including some papyriform capitals inscribed to Rameses II (Nineteenth Dynasty). The finds also include thirty-one sphinxes of various dates between the nineteenth and the sixth centuries BCE, parts of four obelisks inscribed to Seti I (Nineteenth Dynasty), and other elements such as architraves that can be dated by inscriptions far back into the pharaonic period.[74]

69. de Polignac 2000: 120–21. Cf. Fraser 1972: I, 27: "In antiquity this hill dominated the southern part of the city *like an Acropolis*, although the rise in level of much of the surrounding land, particularly on the north (the site of the Arab cemetery, itself of some antiquity), now to some extent conceals this feature" (emphasis added).

70. For skepticism on this (and a good succinct account of the cult), see Dunand 2000: 158–61.

71. Fraser 1972: I, 273.

72. Hölbl 2001: 99–101. Eventually, he says, Sarapis and Isis were felt as Hellenistic and as ancient Egyptian gods in a way that paralleled the dual nature of Ptolemaic kingship. See also Ashton 2004: 23–24, who points out that the cult statue in the temple built under Euergetes Hellenized the god, but notes Fraser's observation that the earliest buildings on the site were dedicated to Isis and Osiris.

73. Empereur 2000: 201; cf. Empereur 1998: 76–81. Eventually there may have been Egyptian-style statues here of as many as three Ptolemaic royal couples.

74. Empereur 2000 [1992] 199–200. There were also some massive blocks that seem to have been carved for the lighthouse.

The pharaonic material evidently was brought from Heliopolis and re-used in various structures. It is impossible to know how or when they ended up where they were found. In their use by the Greeks they may well have been placed in various parts of the city. The palace area has yielded parallel finds, although on a much smaller scale: pharaonic material (architectural elements, colossi, sphinxes) and other Egyptian or Egyptian-inspired sculpture, such as a statue of a priest of Isis.[75] The Egyptian material from the palace quarter is in a distinct minority compared with the Greek; but that there is any at all suggests that not even the nerve center of Greek power in Egypt was an enclave sheltered from the surrounding culture. Perhaps this should not be remarkable, but it does go against some ingrained ways of thinking about Greek relations with Egyptians, especially in Alexandria.

Altogether, "the number of pharaonic-style statues recovered in the recent underwater excavations suggests that the whole city may have had a more Egyptian visual aspect than has usually been assumed."[76] This does not necessarily mean a mixing or a blending of cultures, especially in the early Ptolemaic period. In Alexandria, as in the other markedly heterogeneous city, Memphis, the various ethnic groups were concentrated in their own neighborhoods or quarters. It remains true that there were distinct spaces in Alexandria characterized by different forms of representation. If, at the same time, visually there was some interpenetration of cultures, the juxtaposition of different styles can as readily have reinforced differences as broken them down. It also, however, indicates a Greek openness to Egyptian culture and perhaps a curiosity about it (which of course assumes difference rather than blending).[77] Ptolemaic Alexandria thus exemplifies vividly Massey's description of how places are created and defined by the intersection of different histories, each with its own trajectory, with their interaction inflected by relations of power. Complex cultural relations were embodied in Alexandrian space—much more complex than the simple and banal opposition between Greeks and non-Greeks. Both within the *Argonautika* and, materially, in the city in which it was produced, it happened that "Places, rather than being locations of coherence, become the foci of the meeting and the nonmeeting of the previously unrelated and thus integral to the generation of novelty."[78] And the city stands as an example of how space is constituted by, and reciprocally helps to constitute, social relations.

75. Yoyotte 1998. Isis's presence here is perhaps not remarkable; for her popularity in the Greek world and hybrid Greco-Egyptian representations of her, see Dunand 2000: 156–57.

76. Rowlandson 2003: 252.

77. This can be seen in more subtle ways as well. McKenzie 2007, chaps. 5–6, gives impressive evidence for the interaction of Greek and Egyptian architectural traditions. But although there was influence both ways, each retained its own identity.

78. Massey 2005: 71, from a passage quoted more fully in chap. 1.

Intercultural Relations and the *Argonautika*

The underwater discoveries, as well as the evidence that McKenzie presents of interaction between Greek and Egyptian architectural traditions,[79] make it harder than ever to believe that two separate cultures coexisted in Ptolemaic Egypt with little or no contact,[80] or even that such exchanges as there were took place outside the Greek elite at lower levels of society and especially in the *chora* or countryside outside Alexandria.[81] For it is now clear that the Greeks in Alexandria surrounded themselves with material reminders of Egyptian culture—and at least to some extent within the royal palace quarter. On the basis of the pharaonic material reused in the Ptolemaic period, Yoyotte suggests that perhaps there was "a kind of symbiosis, without any radical conflict, between the culture of the Hellenes and the immemorial past of the Egyptian culture, still very much alive at the time."[82] This view fits well into the picture that seems to be emerging from a reassessment of other kinds of evidence, especially papyrological, in which a number of scholars have been engaged.[83]

As Yoyotte also emphasizes, intercultural exchanges take place not between cultures conceived in the abstract, but between actual people, who occupy positions that are defined not only ethnically but also economically, socially, geographically, and in regard to gender.[84] The situation in Hellenistic Egypt is

79. See n77.

80. Préaux 2002: II, 545–86, 680–83 (what interest she recognizes on the part of the Greeks in things Egyptian she attributes to a taste for the exotic: 548; cf. 680, on religion); Peremans 1962. A forceful statement of this position in connection with the papyri is given by Lewis 2001: 4, 153–56.

81. E.g., Fraser 1972: I, 70–73.

82. Yoyotte 1998: 202.

83. For example, see the balanced and sensible remarks of Shipley 2000: 219–23. For discussions based on the papyri, see Thompson 2001 and also the important essay by La'da 2003, who concludes that "the Ptolemaic state, which from at least approximately the 280s on appears to have functioned on the non-discriminatory model, created the broader social context for a free and low-tension interaction between the various ethnic groups and their cultures settled in Egypt. This free and largely nondiscriminatory social atmosphere facilitated a lively and intensive exchange of ideas, cultures and also genetic material between Greeks and Egyptians" (167). This does not, of course, mean that Greeks and Egyptians were equal, or that there were no instances of ethnic tension on the level of individuals. This view is consistent with Koenen's argument (1993; cf. Hölbl 2001: 111) that ideas characteristic of one ethnic group could be expressed in terms that made it intelligible to the other, and this in turn has much in common with the discussions of literature by Selden 1998 and Stephens 2004. For an example from "the later third century" BCE of a mixed marriage between an Alexandrian man and an Egyptian woman that contradicts Fraser's view of exclusivity among citizens of Alexandria (see n70), see Clarysse 1992: 51–52. On the histories of Hecataeus of Abdera and Manetho in Egypt and Berossus in Babylonia helping to make indigenous ideas accessible to the Macedonian rulers, see Kuhrt 1987. This double cultural focus is not the whole story, of course. The existence of separate Egyptian and Greek legal systems may be evidence of Ptolemaic respect for indigenous traditions rather than of cultures walled off from one another (La'da 2003: 164–65); but the Ptolemies also encouraged Egyptians to Hellenize through education and the tax system (Thompson 1994). The use of "Hellene" as a tax status, however, also would have complicated understandings of ethnicity (Thompson 2001: 307–12). And of course no one was forced to Hellenize; some Egyptians (such as those who wanted administrative positions) found it in their interest to do so. On the other hand, under the first two Ptolemies the language of administration was apparently Egyptian, although Greek started assuming this role under Ptolemy II Philadelphus (Thompson 1994: 72, 74–75).

84. Yoyotte 1998: 218–19.

complicated because although the most prominent set of relations (at least to our eyes) was between native Egyptians and their foreign rulers, people from many other ethnic groups were also present, as we have seen, and—it also bears repeating—the Greeks themselves were culturally diverse[85] (and the Macedonians had not always counted as Greeks in everyone's eyes).[86] In such a mix, negotiating cultural differences in daily life, as a practical matter, must have been often complicated, and this environment could well have raised for many difficult conceptual questions about themselves and those around them, what they had in common and what set them apart. The experiences of the Greeks must have varied according to their situations. There were the Greeks in Alexandria—citizens and those who retained their original polis affiliations; members of the elite of the court and the Mouseion; more middling members of Alexandrian society; and an underclass.[87] Then there were those in the *chora*, many of them veterans settled on the land, some of whom took Egyptian wives; some of these even adopted Egyptian customs. They must all have had at least somewhat different experiences, and each must have had to develop a particular set of skills to cope with different people around them. Those at court and in the Mouseion and Library may have been more sheltered from heterogeneity in their daily lives. But even they surely dealt with Egyptians and others,[88] and we now know that they saw Egyptian artifacts around them. It seems highly improbable (we of course have no evidence either way) that they can have ignored or been unaware of the diversity that surrounded them in Alexandria and Egypt or immune to responding to it.

A complex mixture of responses to such a multicultural environment is only to be expected. They might range from hostility, prejudice, and an emphatic assertion of one's own cultural values on the one hand through curiosity about other proximate cultures and an openness to new influences to collaboration, the sharing of ideas to discover common ground as well as differences, and some adoption of other customs and idioms. A given individual might hold a mixture of these attitudes, any one of which would come to the fore depending on the situation and context. The evidence we have seems to point to just such a mixture in the relations between Greeks and Egyptians in Ptolemaic Egypt.

85. See, for example, Dougherty and Kurke 2003.

86. For a review of ancient and modern views of Macedonian ethnicity, see Hall 2001. His thesis is especially pertinent here: that literary sources' differing constructions of Macedonian identity should be seen within the context of diachronic shifts in definitions of Greekness "and that ancient perceptions of the identity of the Macedonians both inform and are informed by varying conceptions of Hellenic identity itself" (67). Because criteria of Greekness had changed from descent and ethnicity to culture (including language and religion), the Ptolemies could claim membership, and a prominent role, in the Greek world through institutions like the Library and Mouseion. At the same time, this basis for the Ptolemies' claim to Greek identity doubtless made it all the easier in Egypt generally to view ethnicity as a cultural matter rather than as one of birth. This tendency, however, may have introduced complications of its own; an anecdote recounted by Polybius (27.9.7–13) suggests that to serve certain purposes Greeks living in Egypt could be labeled Egyptians as opposed to Hellenes.

87. Fraser 1972: I, 62–75.

88. Cf. Weber 1993: 381–88.

There were cases of hostility, and these could lead to expressions of racial bias. When Egyptians tried to beat up Ptolemaios in the Sarapeum at Memphis in 163 BCE, he attributed the attack to the fact that he was Greek in his letter of complaint to the authorities. The Egyptians may have had economic motives, but ethnic hostility at least provided a lens through which Ptolemaios instinctively saw the incident (or expected the authorities to view it). And Egyptian resentment of Greeks may in fact have worked with other motives to spark the incident.[89] Similarly, a non-Greek left in Syria by his Greek employer could complain that his Greek fellow employee was starving him because he was a "barbarian" and did not know how to speak Greek (*hellênizein*: or "act like a Greek"?).[90] And when Heraclides wrote to complain that Psenobastis had emptied a chamber pot on him from her window, he clearly expected the authorities to feel outrage on his behalf because he, a Greek, had been mistreated by an Egyptian.[91] At the other end of the spectrum were mixed marriages, the Egyptians who Hellenized, and the Greeks who adopted Egyptian customs, although Greeks and Egyptians who crossed over in those ways may not have blended ethnicities so much as moved easily between ethnic and cultural categories.[92] On the official level, there was collaboration most prominently in religion.[93] In the middle between hostility and collaboration, the underwater finds in Alexandria surely suggest Greek curiosity about Egyptian culture.

Alexandrian literature, however, is notoriously silent about Egyptians, and when Theocritus's Syracusan woman breaks that silence it is to express contempt for them. Theocritus is probably mimicking one in a wide range of possible attitudes. The overt silence about Egyptians everywhere else is not very remarkable if the poets were primarily addressing a Greek audience in a Greek idiom and through Greek literary forms (however they stretched these). Recent work, however—notably that of Selden and Stephens—has suggested that the Alexandrian poets did not turn their backs on the other culture but responded to the circumstances of their placement (or displacement) in Egypt, and that

89. *UPZ* I 7, translated and discussed by Lewis 2001: 84–87; Bagnall and Derow 2004: 232–33; Thompson 1988: 229–30, 2001: 301 and (on the possible economic motive) 313–14. There was a second assault two years later. Unlike the others (who give "because I am a Greek": cf. LSJ s.v. *παρά* C.III.7), Lewis translates *παρὰ τὸ Ἕλληνά μ' εἶναι* as "despite the fact that I am a Greek." In that case, Ptolemaios is viewing the incident from an attitude of Greek superiority (or expects the addressee to do so). The papyrus still attests a kind of ethnic friction. This translation, however, runs contrary to the significance Lewis himself draws from the petition, Egyptian resentment of Greeks.

90. *P.Col.Zen* II 66, translated in Bagnall and Derow 2004: 230–32; Austin 2006: 307.

91. *P. Enteuxeis* 79, translated and discussed by Lewis 2001: 59–61; Thompson 2001: 313. The latter points out that "Hellene" tends to be used as a term of self-identity in such contexts of complaint.

92. For evidence of cultural interaction on monuments outside Alexandria, particularly dual self-presentation by the Egyptian elite, see Baines 2004.

93. For example, the royal cults in Egyptian temples, the Ptolemies' additions to or enlargement of many temples (cf. Hölbl 2001: 85–90), their custom of being crowned in Memphis, at least from the fifth Ptolemy onward (Alexander visited Memphis and may have had himself crowned there: see Bowman 1986: 22; but he may have acted royally by sacrificing to the gods there without a formal coronation: Hölbl 9–10). For textual attestations of such collaboration, see Stanwick 2002, chap. 2.

their narratives, their themes, and the images in which those themes were expressed could have made sense simultaneously from both Greek and Egyptian perspectives.

In what I think of as a complementary approach, I have concentrated on Apollonius's *Argonautika* as structuring a Greek response, or a set of responses, to the experience of cultural difference. Alexandria was a place of convergence for people of vastly diverse origins, and it brought them into close living contact with a now-subject people with its own venerable traditions. The forms these contacts could take were lived and expressed spatially in Alexandria among other places, and it was here that Apollonius wrote his poem. His narrative projected onto a myth set in the distant past and onto an enormous space mostly far removed from Alexandria both the excitement and the anxieties that must have been aroused there among his contemporaries by living among others and by the larger and more complicated appearance of the world after Alexander's conquests. The same complex of attitudes toward the culturally other can be traced in the Argonauts' encounters, and in the poem's construction of space generally, as the Greeks in Egypt seem to have held: a strong sense of opposition between Greek and non-Greek, sometimes expressed implicitly as a feeling of Greek superiority and accompanied by references to colonial domination, or expressed as a tendency to identify the alien with the monstrous; interest in different customs; and a recognition of similarities amid the differences, and so of the instability of familiar categories and distinctions; and over all, a sense of the limits of Hellenic mastery of space that is expressed in a variety of ways. Even amid an assertion of spatial clarity, the poem raises questions about the place of Greek culture in the world.

Apollonius's immediate audience may have been the elite of the court and the Mouseion, and perhaps also educated Greeks of Alexandria. But the *Argonautika* could, and doubtless eventually did, speak to Greeks outside Egypt about their historical and cultural situation. And as we know, it finally spoke eloquently to a poet who set about creating a collective Roman self in relation to the rest of the world, also in the context of radical change and imperial domination. Vergil, "the best reader Apollonius' Hellenistic *Argonautica* has ever had,"[94] took up Apollonius's sense of the need for such definitions, and of their precariousness.

94. Nelis 2008: 362.

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